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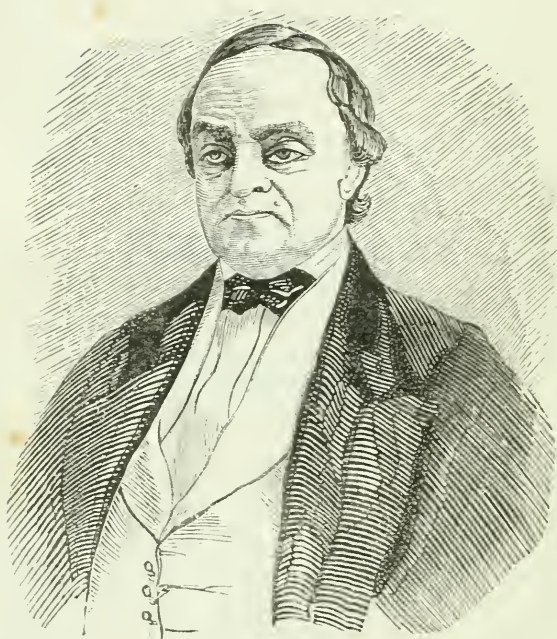
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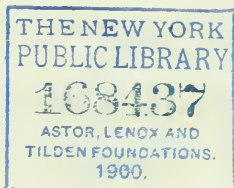


GENERAL CASS.

L I F E
OF
GENERAL LEWIS CASS:
COMPRISING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS
MILITARY SERVICES IN THE NORTH-WEST
DURING THE
WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN,
HIS DIPLOMATIC CAREER AND CIVIL HISTORY.
TO WHICH IS APPENDED,
A SKETCH OF THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE HISTORY
OF
MAJOR-GENERAL W. O. BUTLER,
OF THE VOLUNTEER SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES.
WITH TWO PORTRAITS.

PHILADELPHIA:
G. B. ZIEBER & CO.

1848.



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## P R E F A C E.

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THE following pages profess to be nothing more than a compilation thrown together within a brief space of time, to illustrate the career of the distinguished men nominated as candidates for the two first offices of the nation. Without aspirations after literary merit, it has been sought to give a popular account of the eventful lives of these personages, and to place them in a proper position before the people, without dwelling too long on the intricacies of politics and party. When these became the subject, General Cass has been caused, as far as possible, to speak for himself,

and extracts from his many printed speeches and essays have been made, to which the reader will not object, if he has a perception of power and eloquence.

In the account of General Butler, little more has been done than to expand the well-written sketch of Mr. Blair, which at the time of its publication attracted such general attention. With these brief explanations, this book is presented to the public.

Philadelphia, June, 1848.



L I F E  
OF  
GENERAL LEWIS CASS.

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# LIFE

OF

## GENERAL CASS.

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### CHAPTER I.

Biography of Lewis Cass—His Father—Early emigration to the North-west—Character of that country, etc.—Studies law—Admitted to the Bar—Burr—Marshal of the State, etc.

It has become an axiom, that no one should attempt to write the biography of any individual, until the tomb should have become the seal of the career of the subject. Many examples might be given of the truthfulness of this, both in the annals of our own land and of other nations, well known to all who read and think. The biography of the elder Adams, previous to the passage of the alien and sedition laws, the career of Burr before his defeat and subsequent treason, and of many less important but equally significant personages, would prove how different often is the estimate placed on men, from their sterling value. There are, however, occasions when the name and history of a man become the property of the nation; when the varied events of his career, whether in the camp, senate, or service of his country abroad, become the property of the people, who have a right to canvass and discuss in

detail each item of his history, and when it becomes almost a duty to ascertain and fix positively the landmarks of his social and public history.

This is a consequence of the peculiar character of our country, which, setting aside, if not the experience, at least the practice of the old world, in the selection of its rulers, looks rather to the traces left by the feet of the living, than to inscriptions laudatory of the dead.

When a great people, to whose intelligence are confided not only their own rights and those of their children, but, in a great degree, the future of humanity, is called upon to select its chief magistrate and holder of the executive power, it becomes each member of the community to acquire, if not a thorough knowledge, at least a general acquaintance with the events of the lives of the candidates for the high position, especially when they appear before the community, endorsed by the recommendation of either of the great classes, into which party and opinion have divided the nation. The history of parties in the United States inculcates a sad lesson, and if we believe the journals of the day, during each political canvass, we must think either that the candidates are god-like and unequalled heroes, Nestors in experience, Ulysses in wisdom, and Achilles in courage, or deem them disgraces to humanity and opprobriums to society. Except General Washington, and perhaps Mr. Jefferson, no one who has occupied the seat of the president, has escaped this indiscriminate censure and laudation, each of which has often been so indiscreet and indiscriminate, that victims have fled for shelter to their enemies, and cried in agony, "Save me from my friends."

The United States stand on the eve of one of the great convulsions which, occurring on every fourth year, shake society, break down the divisions of party, and lately have amounted to a total revolu-

tion in all of the ministerial departments. The peculiar structure of the organization of government makes it necessary that new presidents should bring with them new secretaries, and the latter new officials in important and minor capacities, more or less affecting each individual of the community, and making from their natural dependence, each circumstance of the career of the candidates of either of the two great parties important.

The democratic spirit of our government is not a thing of theory, a mere expansion of words, but a principle, pervading the idea and action of both of the two great powers. Nothing makes this more apparent than the organization of parties, which almost recalls to us the conduct and condition of those countries, in which two races, each having its own peculiar ruler and code, were condensed. We find them meeting and acting alone, with a party constitution as well defined as the law of the land, submissive to the principle that the wish and interest of the many is the interest and should be the wish of the few: each party has erected itself into a subordinate republic, and established the rule that a majority, greater or less, as the case might be, shall control its decision in the selection of a candidate. The party annals of the United States have shown how absolute is this decision; for in no case, since the establishment of these sub-republics, has the mass of either party failed to use its influence, or cast its voice, for the person who had been designated as a candidate. On the propriety of this, great and good men of either party have differed — it being notorious that, after the fiat of the party, the people vote according to the suggestion of the convention, to which they adhere almost as blindly as canons and deans in ecclesiastical corporations, abroad, cast their suffrages for the person, whom, by a chancellor's writ, they are permitted to elect. This may be wrong. Both parties, however, are

liable to reproach, and show that they are aware of it, by the fact of their applying to the convention of their opponents opprobrious epithets, which are equally appropriate to their own cases.\* It is unfortunately but too true, that this party allegiance has proved more powerful, and exerted more influence, than the call of the higher and undoubted appeal of patriotism. This is a statement which needs no proof; each one, within his own experience, being able to recall a recent and striking instance. We have seen the whole democratic party cry for war for indemnity, and the satisfaction of our national claims on Mexico; on the other hand, almost without an exception, we have seen the whig party brand the government, and the party which supported it, as an oppressor of the weak abroad, and the labouring man at home; we have listened to its loud declamation against the war, its causes, conduct, purposes and results. Now, not only Brutus, but Cæsar, "is an honourable man," yet one or the other is undoubtedly mistaken; and it becomes the duty of the friends of both to ascertain each item of the history of the two persons presented to them as exponents of the two great political churches which solicit their adherence and support.

When the necessity of this knowledge is admitted, it follows as a corollary not only that it is admissible, but becomes a duty, for each one to contribute his mite to the general stock of information on this most important subject. Therefore is it that this book has been written. In our country we profess to disregard family antecedents, and to look altogether to the character of the man. It is, however, a

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\* In England, and other European states, when a vacancy in any Bishopric or Arch Episcopate occurs, the royal power virtually appoints an incumbent, but under the guise of a writ, or permit, to elect (*congé d'élire*) a particular person. Thus, the conventions recommend men who receive the unanimous vote of their respective parties.



great mistake to suppose that we have been able to cast aside the prejudices and faults of our fathers, or that we wish to strip ourselves of their former glory. It is believed that no biography was ever written, which did not specify at least the services, and attempt to define the character of the parent of the hero. Following this precept, and without pausing to inquire whether it would not be more honoured in the breach than in the observance, we will state at once that Lewis Cass has reason to be proud of his genealogy.

His father, Jonathan Cass, of the revolutionary army, was a native of Massachusetts, and descendant of a reputable family, long established in the vicinity of Boston. When the news of the contest at Lexington became known to the people of that section of country, and when it was obvious that not only was the British ministry determined to persevere in its course, but that the strife had actually commenced, Jonathan Cass enlisted in the army. His subsequent career, and the memorials of his service, prove him to have been a man of education, and as such, justified in aspiring to at least a higher post than that of a private sentinel. Under the conviction, however, that the nation needed the heart and arms of all its children, he placed himself in the humblest capacity, participated in the operations in front of Boston, and by obedience learned to command. In but a short time he became an ensign, and after serving in the various campaigns in Jersey, and the middle states, attained the rank of captain, which he held at the end of the war. During this trying time, the courage of Jonathan Cass, and his prudence and judgment, were well established, so that when Wayne commenced his successful expedition against the Indians in the northwest, he was recalled to service, with the higher grade of major. On this expedition it was that he acquired that knowledge of the west, which induced him

ultimately to make it the home of his family. He emigrated thither, after the termination of hostilities, and died, ultimately, at his residence, in Muskingum county, Ohio.

Lewis Cass was born at Exeter, New Hampshire, on the 9th of October, 1782, and when his father was appointed a major in Wayne's army accompanied him southward. At that time, the pay of officers of the army was small, and barely sufficed for their necessary expenses, so that young Cass was not unwillingly constrained to attempt to add as much as possible to the family income by his own exertions. While Major Cass was stationed at Wilmington, Delaware, on the recruiting service, his son taught a school at that place, and he remained there until after his father had left for the army. Then, as he states himself, on foot he crossed the Alleghany, and established at Marietta in the then North-western Territory. This must have occurred in 1799, as persons who have every facility for obtaining correct information, state that at that time young Cass had "just entered his eighteenth year." At this time the population of the whole North-west, including the old French establishment at Detroit, in Michigan, the ports on the lakes and the thriving settlements around Kaskaskia, Illinois, was less than twenty thousand souls, and sent but one delegate to congress. There is therefore no inaptness in that resolution of the Democratic convention of the state of Ohio, which claimed Lewis Cass as one of the "early pioneers" of their country. It may not be improper here to call attention to the immense progress made by the region then known as the North-western Territory, which now, after a lapse of fifty years, contains five sovereign states; sends to the National Congress thirty-five representatives; and has a population of more than three millions of souls.

It was the peculiarity, and it is not improbable, the blessing of the west, that no one of its inhabitants

at that time, could shake off his portion of the burden of toil and hardship, by which alone the country could have been lifted to its present position. For years young Cass participated in all this labour, and in the constant peril to which all were exposed by the vicinity of savage tribes, inimical to the new settlers, not only on account of the natural antipathy of race, but in consequence of the perpetual machinations of the British agents, who long and most unjustifiably kept in the pay of England and stimulated to hostilities a race, whom not only the letter of national treaties, but human charity bound them at least to let alone. They did not, however, thus abstain, for long before the declaration of war against Great Britain, her allies were in the field, and the United States were compelled to employ a large military force to keep them in check.

In 1802, during the territorial government, Lewis Cass was admitted to the bar, having previously gone through a course of legal instruction under the privilege of R. J. Meigs, in the town of Marietta. Under fair auspices he commenced the practice of the law, travelling, as was the custom of the day, on horseback, and often alone, through the expanse of forest which separated the various places of the session of the courts, in that then sparsely inhabited country. The life of a western lawyer at that day was certainly arduous, but had its pleasures. The long and solitary journeys through the wilderness encouraged the habit of reflection and matured thought: it made all who participated in it familiar with the character of the whole country, and was not by any means without peculiar advantages, from the fact that it brought together men of rare qualities, whose energy and anxiety to achieve something had induced them to turn from the idleness of life in the old states, to the hardships of the frontier.

As a lawyer, the success of Cass was decided, and his reputation well established, so that in 1806.

he was elected a member of the legislature from Muskingum county, over many competitors. Scarcely a lawyer, who is not an aspirant for political distinctions, exists within the United States, and Cass had many opponents, all of whom seem, however, to have approved of the popular choice. During the session of the legislative body he was a conspicuous member, participating in all the debates on state concerns, and in the important discussion which resulted in the passage of the law, which authorized the executive to use the power of the state to disperse the partisans of Burr, taking the lead, and introducing the bill he had draughted into the house. How important this step was, will be evident to all, on an examination of the state of the country.

Aaron Burr was one of those men who with immense mental power, fail even in the limited career they propose to themselves, temporary success, because the moral faculties or organs are not proportioned to their mental capacity. Born within what many are pleased to call the upper circles, he had received a brilliant education, and at the era of the revolution, carried away by the popular impetus, or perhaps, far-seeing enough to be satisfied that the cause would ultimately succeed, he had entered the military service of the government, and, notwithstanding the statements of the many volumes which have been written since 1806, had served with no small distinction in the Revolutionary army. Disbanded on the termination of the war, as were Hamilton, Monroe, Timothy Pickering, and others of the same grade, like them he had directed his attention to the civil service of the government. How great his influence was, may be gathered from the fact, that he was the rival and nearly the successful one of the great apostle of democracy, Mr. Jefferson; and it is more than likely, but for the prejudice excited by the circumstance of his having killed Hamilton, the idol of the Federalist party,

in a duel, he would have occupied the Presidential chair.

In spite of the many attacks made on the social character of Colonel Burr, there is every reason to believe, that he would have occupied the post of chief magistrate, with as much dignity as any, who have since become its incumbents. For this, his brilliant genius, his intelligence, and his conversational eloquence admirably qualified him. He had, however, risen so high, that the one other grade in the scale of dignity became indispensable to him, and, disappointed in attaining that, he fell, as far purer beings have done before him, through envy. So anxious had he been to succeed, that his whole resources, personal and of party, had been put forth, and having been defeated, was as utterly powerless as Napoleon became after Waterloo. The election of Mr. Jefferson firmly established the predominance, for years to come, of the politicians of his school, and success to Burr in the United States became an impossibility.

One of the most distinguished jurists of the day, wealth and distinction in that sphere were attainable; but the judicial ermine of the national tribunals would never have been conferred on one who had so nearly defeated the executive and appointing power. It is well this was the case, for a person whom envy could lash into treason was not fit to be the depository of the great conservative power of the government. Discontented, disappointed and moody, Burr disappeared from the popular eye, and when he again emerged, it was as the opponent of the government to which he aspired, and as an outlaw, for the apprehension of whom every civil and military officer of the nation was on the alert.

What was precisely the plan of Colonel Burr, it is impossible now to ascertain: circumstances, however, indicate that if he did not actually meditate the dismemberment and separation of the territories

of the union, his design was treasonable. When a single man in the midst of a peaceful community is found armed to the teeth, and violating the ordinary police regulations, it is fair to conclude that he meditates the perpetration of wrong, and it becomes his duty to satisfy the people of his honest intentions. So when an individual places himself at the head of military array in a peaceful land, it is a fair presumption that he meditates war and treason, and the government, if it discharges its duty, is bound not only to call the offender to account, but to crush his power. The latter was precisely the case of Burr.

The government of the United States had been so recently established, that the men who had lived before the revolution, and under the government which existed between the ratification of peace and the inauguration of General Washington, had not all learned thoroughly to transfer their love and duty to the new authorities. They still devoted themselves to their several states, and if they were faithful to the United States, it was because the prosperity of their respective homes was involved in the national prosperity. In 1803, the district of Louisiana had been purchased, notwithstanding the opposition of a factious minority, and Governor Claiborne sent thither to take possession of the acquisition. Many Americans had gone thither, and listened, with eager ears, to the stories of Mexican mines and Spanish wealth, by which their cupidity had been excited, until at last the wish became father to the thought, that in the existing difficulties of Spain, it would be easy to seize at least a portion of the most magnificent of her colonies, and found there, as their own fathers had done in the United States, a new government. This idea pervaded the whole community, and every thing tends to show that it was the purpose of no conspiracy, if that word implies secrecy, but the common theme of public conversation among the floating population of the whole



west. This population was peculiar. The most adventurous men of the whole nation were hemmed in the valley of the Ohio, where they were shut up by the power and presence of the Pottawattamie, and other tribes on the north, and the great tribes of Tennessee on the south. They had not the free scope of the whole continent, which has since been opened to them, and had shaken off the restraints imposed by society in the older states. They were ready to undertake any scheme of wild adventure. The army of Wayne had been disbanded in the west, and many of the officers, needy and poor, yet hung around the cities, where they became the associates of foreign adventurers of every grade and character. A plan was formed by these men, it is now believed, to seize on a portion of Mexico, and establish themselves there; and goaded by his disappointed ambition and envy, Burr placed himself at their head. So far as the scheme was directed against the then Spanish colonies of Mexico, the intention was, according to the laws of the United States, merely a misdemeanor. New Orleans had, however, been garrisoned by the United States, and as it controlled the passes of the Mississippi, must necessarily be seized on by the adventurers. This was treason; and the moment two men assembled for the purpose of carrying the plan into effect, at however remote a day, war had been waged, and treason been committed, against the United States. This condition of affairs existed at the time that Lewis Cass sat in the General Assembly of Ohio. ✓

The State of Virginia claimed the control of the Ohio river, wherever it touched her, as far as the northern bank; but the western declivity of the Alleghany, even now sparsely populated, was then a wilderness, except on the banks of the river, and the seat of the state government was far off at Richmond. On one of the islands of the river, the subsequently well-known Blennerhasset had established ✓

himself, and his house became the nucleus of intrigue. To put an end to this state of affairs, on the 11th December, 1806, Mr. Cass introduced the bill referred to above, suspending the *habeas corpus*, and thereby enabling the civil and military officers to execute efficiently the duty required from them by the proclamation of the President.

This was a great and a decided step, necessary at that time to put an end to the conspiracy or plot, and attracted much attention to Mr. Cass. The party of intriguers at Blennerhasset's island and other places, having been dispersed by the consequences of this course of Mr. Cass, Burr turned his steps southward, and soon after was arrested by Captain (now Major-General) Gaines of the army, the commander of Fort Stodert, a military post between New Orleans and Mobile. In the similarity of agents' plans, etc., there is much in this plot of Burr's, as far as we can now follow its mazes, to remind us of the infamous conspiracy of Nicholls and others, subsequently so signally foiled by General Jackson. In March of the next year, 1807, Mr. Jefferson appointed Mr. Cass marshal of the United States for the district of Ohio, in the discharge of the duties of which he remained until 1812, residing almost constantly on his estate in Muskingum county.

Previously to his leaving the legislature of Ohio, Mr. Cass wrote and introduced the well-known address, adopted unanimously by the Senate and House of Representatives of that state, to congratulate Mr. Jefferson on the frustration of Burr's plans.



## CHAPTER II.

Preparations for War—March to the Frontier—War—Invasion of Canada—Hull's procrastination—Battle at Aux Canards—Retreat from Canada—Cass's Remonstrance—Detached Service—Surrender of Detroit—Visit to Washington—Letters—Promotion—Thanks of the Legislature of Ohio.

THE duties of marshal of the United States at that time in Ohio, were most arduous and occupied Mr. Cass completely. This will be readily appreciated, when it is remembered there were within the state a large number of Indians, the trade and intercourse with whom was regulated by laws of congress, the enforcement of which rested exclusively with the courts of which Mr. Cass was the ministerial officer. It also became his duty to exercise a general supervision over the countless acres of wild land, then unsold, in almost every portion of the state, and to assist, as far as possible, the officers of customs on the northern frontier, then few and far between, in the discharge of their onerous duties, in preventing the introduction of arms among the Indians already hostile in their feelings to the United States.

These important duties kept him occupied, and as his office was incompatible with legislative functions, we do not find his name in the records of the many important events of the legislative history of Ohio for several years.

Previous to the actual declaration of war, under the conviction that it was inevitable, the government of the United States had begun diligently to prepare for it, and among other steps determined to place on

the frontier a large force, so that when the contest actually began, an invasion of Canada might be commenced or hostilities against the United States repelled. At the head of this army was placed General Hull, who had under his orders three regiments of Ohio volunteers, and the gallant and universally distinguished 4th regiment of infantry. Of the 3d regiment of Ohio volunteers, Mr. Cass was, without serious opposition, elected colonel. His acceptance of the command, of course made it necessary for him to relinquish the office of marshal.

The position of the country at this time was strange. The people were anxious for war, the whole country busy in preparation: yet the government, existing only in the breath of the people, hesitated. In the interim, the British government continued its outrages both on the seas and the northwest frontier, exhibiting the brutality of the ruffian, who seeks by continued indignities, to wrest from a feebler party, not an excuse, but a pretext for quarrel. The people of the United States were most indignant, and nowhere more so than in the west, so that the quota of volunteers called for from Ohio, was obtained without difficulty, and comprised the flower of the state, which was then pervaded by a military spirit unusual, but easy to be accounted for.

In the war with the Prophet and the tribes confederated under his influence, in 1811, Great Britain had apparently not interfered; yet there was not in the whole northwest one person who doubted that the British authorities in Canada were mainly instrumental in bringing about and sustaining the league. The hostilities of the league of the Prophet and his brother Tecumseh were terminated by the brilliant victory of Tippecanoe, but the feeling of military ambition brought home by the volunteers who had gained it pervaded the whole people, and everywhere the young men embodied themselves in military companies. What the memory of victory

accomplished in the west was brought about on the Atlantic by the news of the affair of the Little Belt, and its forerunner, the attack on the Chesapeake, which latter outrage alone should have impelled the people to war.

There was some excuse for the dilatory conduct of the authorities: the constitution and government of the United States might have, at that time, been considered as tested, and proven admirably calculated for a state of peace, but it was yet doubtful whether it would survive that terrible ordeal for all popular governments, war. Many able and patriotic men doubted its capacity to undergo this test; and the world construed their hesitation into cowardice. Napoleon, and the English ministry, each of whom had attempted to entangle the United States in alliances, began to look on us with contempt; and in spite of the antecedents of the Revolution, the promptness with which the aggressions of the French minister Genet had been met, and the war with Tripoli, the name of an American had almost become a reproach, and the flag of the Union had ceased to protect the vessel that bore it. A limit to all this was, however, at hand; and, yielding to the voice of the people, congress, on the 18th of June, 1812, declared war against Great Britain, which on the next day was publicly proclaimed.

The flower of the people of Ohio had responded to the call, and probably a finer body of irregular troops had never been seen than General Hull commanded; and it was prepared to wipe out a long series of affronts, by operations in the country of the enemy. Previous to the declaration of war, the army of Hull had been collected at Dayton, in Montgomery county, whither Colonel Cass soon marched with his regiment, which had been recruited in the eastern portion of the state. Early in June, the volunteers moved towards Urbanna, in Champaign county, where they were joined by the vete-

ran 4th infantry, which, under Colonel Boyd, had won so much fame at Tippecanoe.

The country between Urbanna and the Rapides was then a wilderness, in possession of the Indians. From Urbanna, the route lay through a pathless forest, and the natural character of the region opposed great difficulties to the march. A road was to be opened, streams to be bridged, and often long causeways to be constructed over morasses. Even now the traces of these labours may be seen; and often a long belt of timber, of smaller and different growth, will indicate the route along which Hull's army marched. Animated, however, by the cheerfulness and energy which is the forte of the American people, this arduous portion of the march was soon accomplished; and in as brief a time as was reasonable, the army reached *Rapides* (about the last of June).

From the Rapides of the Miami of the Lake to Detroit, the country was sparsely inhabited by a Canadian French population, and became more interesting and cheerful, though it was not then without hardships. At Rapides, a small schooner was loaded with a portion of the baggage of the army, to enable them to march more rapidly. At this place an unfortunate though perhaps necessary delay occurred, in consequence of which the British heard of the declaration of war before General Hull, and captured the schooner and stores, at the same time making prisoners of a subaltern's guard on board of it. On the 5th of July, the army reached Detroit, just in time to prevent its occupation by the British forces, which had already begun works on the other side of the river, and to fortify a position a few miles below. From these positions they were soon forced to retreat by a well-directed fire of artillery.

The army was most anxious to invade Canada; and Colonel Cass, who, with McArthur, had more

influence than any other of the volunteer officers, used great efforts to induce General Hull to take this step. The General, however, had been bred in the army, and had great prejudices against volunteer forces, thinking them not to be relied on with confidence. This feeling, although he knew the enemy were not prepared to receive him, induced him to delay until it is probable the season for success had passed away. By dint of constant persuasion, Colonel Cass at last brought him to a decision, and, after two abortive attempts in front of the British batteries, the American army, on the 12th of July, crossed the river unopposed, and entered the village of Sandwich. Here another delay took place, and Hull published his famous proclamation, which nothing has prevented from being considered a masterpiece but his ultimate failure and surrender.

This manifesto, which may be esteemed a model, has since been avowed to have emanated from the pen of Colonel Cass, and is worthy of the high reputation he has since acquired. Unfortunately, it promised more than the general who signed it was capable of performing. Had the command rested in other hands, it would have become world-renowned.

During this time, Colonel Cass continued the master-spirit of the army, and exerted himself as far as possible to induce Hull to activity. The old man's faults, delay and sloth, had, however, seized upon the general, and he here frittered away many valuable days. This circumstance created much dissatisfaction among officers and men, who could not but compare the procrastination of the general with the eagerness of others, especially with Colonel Cass, who had been the *first armed American* who stood on the Canada shore, whither he had passed with the vanguard of his own regiment, which led the column on the 12th of July.

After the publication of his manifesto, General Hull detached Colonel McArthur to seize on the country along the Thames, which was well settled, and thriving. This was accomplished without resistance, and McArthur returned to Sandwich with a large quantity of blankets, ammunition, and military supplies, together with a great many articles evidently intended for the Indian allies of the "Defender of the Faith." About the same time, Colonel Cass was detached with a party of two hundred and eighty men towards Fort Malden, a strong post, where a large body of Indians and British regular troops were collected. This important point, at the embouchure of the Detroit river, commands the passage to and from the lake, and was about thirteen miles from the camp of General Hull. Colonel Cass, following the course of the *Riviere aux Canards*, at the distance of about four miles of Malden, found a strong British force in possession of a bridge. After an examination of the position, a rifle corps commanded by Captain Robinson, was ordered to advance and occupy the enemy, while at the head of the remainder of his force, Colonel Cass sought to turn their lower flank, and attack their rear. The people of Canada, at least on this portion of the frontier, do not seem to have extended a great deal of aid and comfort to the invaders; Colonel Cass was without a guide, and being unacquainted with the topography of the place, was unable to reach the rear of the enemy until nearly night, when the design to surprise the post having been discovered, large reinforcements had been advanced. A short, sharp, and decisive affair, however, occurred, and the British guard was compelled to abandon its position, with a loss of eleven killed and wounded, besides many desertions.

This was an important success, for it opened the route to Malden, and Colonel Cass immediately despatched an express to General Hull informing



him of what had occurred, and urging him to march at once. Had he done so, the route of seventeen miles between the American camp and Malden, could soon have been accomplished, and Malden would have fallen. What influences prevented Hull from acting thus have never been understood: the probability however, is, that professional pride would not permit the veteran soldier, for Hull had been distinguished in the revolution, to follow the suggestion of a colonel of militia. Be this as it may, Colonel Cass was immediately ordered to abandon the post he had captured, and return to the army, which of course he immediately did. From this time, Colonel Cass seems to have lost all confidence in General Hull, and to have been able to exert no influence on him. Hull appears to have separated himself entirely from the officers of his command, and to have acted, to use the mildest words, blindly and improvidently.

After frittering away several weeks in perfect inactivity, Hull retraced his steps to Detroit, in consequence it was said, of the interruption of his plans by the capture of the post of Michillimacinae. The circumstances of this were so strange, as to merit a particular notice. This post, situated on an island at the eastern extremity of the straits of Macinac, connecting Lakes Michigan and Huron, though an important depot of the American fur-trade, was garrisoned by fifty-six men, commanded by Lieutenant Hanks of the United States artillery corps. Against it, a force of no less than six hundred British and Indians marched July 16th, and summoned the place to surrender. So remote was Macinac from the inhabited parts of the United States, that the commandant had as yet received no intimation of the existence of war; and, consequently, unprepared for defence, the young commandant capitulated.

The blame for this scandalous affair rested with Hull, who should immediately have communicated

to all the commanders on the frontier, the existence of war. Had he done so, there is every reason to believe, that Hanks, who was a very gallant and competent officer, would have been able to maintain himself. That Hull could have done so, is proven by the fact that the British commandant of St. Joseph's, whence the enemy's expedition moved, had been informed of all that occurred by Sir Isaac Brock, who was at least as distant from the two posts as General Hull. The partisans of the latter maintained that the consequences of the capture of Michillimacinac would have been the irruption of all the northern tribes, headed by the British Northwest Company's officers, and the impossibility of holding Malden. This does not however appear to be the case, for no feeble garrison like Hanks's could for a moment have withstood this force, and in case of such an invasion, the possession of Malden was indispensable to the United States, and Hull should have been doubly diligent in efforts to obtain it.

Every thing tends to show, that Hull, if he was ever serious in his demonstrations on Malden, was now delighted at an excuse for abandoning them. His preparations had been conducted in the most dilatory manner, so that by the first of August only two twenty-four pound guns and three howitzers had been mounted. At that time, however, a council of war was called, which recommended an immediate attack. About this crisis, the Canada militia began to desert, and the whole country was buoyant with expectation of a brilliant result.

About this time, a company of Ohio volunteers arrived at the mouth of the Raisin with army supplies, and as the route thence to Detroit was much exposed, Major Van Horn, with one hundred and fifty men, was sent to meet them. This officer, on his second day's march, near the village of Brownstown, was attacked by an overwhelming force of British and Indians, which, after a very sharp con-



test, he beat off, though with the loss of nineteen killed and missing, and nine wounded. Among the killed were three officers, Captains Gilcrease, McCulloch, and Bosler, and Captain Ulry was severely wounded.

In the council of war, Colonel Cass had warmly espoused the proposition of an immediate attack on Malden, and therefore was amazed and disappointed when he learned that the general proposed, not only to abandon his attack on Malden, but to fall back from his then position to Detroit. This was to desert the enterprise and to expose the Canadians who had joined him to certain ruin. Though, since the affair at *Aux Canards*, there had been little harmony and intercourse between the general and himself, Colonel Cass remonstrated bitterly, but in vain. The army then crossed the river and re-occupied Detroit.

Words cannot express the indignation of the army at this step. All their hopes were blasted, and they gave vent to their discontent in murmurs, which would have led to mutiny but for the great efforts of their officers. All were dissatisfied, and the only difference was that one-half charged him with cowardice, and the other with treason or incompetency. Possibly it would have been better if a decided step had then been taken, and communication had with the authorities to supersede Hull. During his long inactivity in Canada, the provisions had been consumed, and it became absolutely necessary to open the communication with the convoy at the mouth of the river Raisin, commanded by Captain Brush, which the gallant Major Vanhorn had been unable to reach. Lieutenant-colonel James Miller of the 4th, distinguished at Tippecanoe, was sent on an expedition to effect a junction. But though the victor in a brilliant affair at a place called Magaugua, near Brownstown, to which he forced the enemy to

retire, and which he occupied, Colonel Miller was forced to return to Detroit.

Disaster after disaster now occurred. Among others was the capture of Captain Heald, recently commander of Chicago, which he had been ordered to abandon, while en route to Detroit, by a force of British and Indians. Brilliant as the affair of M<sup>a</sup>gaugua had been, for Colonel Miller had beaten Muir's regulars by a decisive bayonet charge, and was only checked in his career by the great efforts of Tecumseh, who in person commanded the Indians, it had led to nothing, and an order was sent to Brush to remain where he was until a communication could be opened with him, by crossing the Huron river at a higher point. To effect this, Colonels Cass and McArthur, at the head of a formidable column, left Detroit on the 14th. On the 15th, the British took possession of a position immediately opposite to Detroit, and set about the erection of their batteries. At this crisis, Major Denny, who had been left in command of Sandwich, with orders, however, to act entirely on the defensive, crossed over to Detroit. On the 16th the following summons was forwarded by General Brock to the American commander.

“Sir—The forces at my disposal authorize me to require of you the surrender of Detroit. It is far from my inclination to join in a war of extermination, but you must be aware that the numerous body of Indians who have attached themselves to my troops will be beyond my control the moment the contest commences. You will find me disposed to enter into such conditions as will satisfy the most scrupulous sense of honour. Lieutenant-colonel M'Donald and Major Glegg are fully authorized to enter into any arrangements that may tend to prevent the unnecessary effusion of blood.

ISAAC BROCK, *Major General.*”

To this summons a reply was made that the fort would be defended to the last extremity; immediately on the reception of which the British batteries opened their fire. The American batteries at once returned it, but on either side it was without effect.

In the morning the British troops landed at Spring Wells, and it was impossible to molest them from the fort, because the town lay between it and the point of debarkation. More than one of Hull's officers had foreseen this, and urged him to erect batteries at the landing, which if he had done would effectually have prevented it.

What followed is thus described by an able writer:

“ The enemy having landed, about ten o'clock advanced towards the fort in close column, and twelve deep. The fort being separated from the town by an open space of about two hundred yards, they would be enabled to approach within this distance before its guns could be brought to bear upon them, unless they could approach in the rear. The American force was, however, judiciously disposed to prevent their advance. The militia, and a great part of the volunteers, occupied the town, or were posted behind pickets, whence they could annoy the enemy's flanks; the regulars defended the fort, and two twenty-four pounders, charged with grape, were advantageously posted on an eminence, and could sweep the whole of the enemy's line, as he advanced. All was now silent expectation: the daring foe still slowly moved forward, apparently regardless, or unconscious of their danger; for their destruction must have been certain, had they not been impressed with contempt for a commander who had so meanly abandoned Sandwich a few days before. The hearts of our countrymen beat high at the near prospect of regaining their credit. But who can describe the chagrin and mortification which took possession of these troops, when orders

were issued for them to retire to the fort; and the artillery, at the very moment when it was thought the British were deliberately advancing to the most certain destruction, was ordered not to fire! The whole force, together with a great number of women and children, was gathered into the fort, almost too narrow to contain them. Here the troops were ordered to stack their arms, and, to the astonishment of every one, a white flag, in token of submission, was suspended from the walls. A British officer rode up to ascertain the cause. A capitulation was agreed to, without even stipulating the terms. Words are wanting to express the feelings of the Americans on this occasion; they considered themselves basely betrayed in thus surrendering to an inferior force without firing a gun, when they were firmly convinced that that force was in their power. They had provisions for at least fifteen days, and were provided with all the requisite munitions of war. They were compelled, thus humiliated, to march out and to surrender themselves prisoners at discretion. The British took immediate possession of the fort, with all the public property it contained; amongst which there were forty barrels of powder, four hundred rounds of fixed twenty-four pound shot, one hundred thousand ball cartridges, two thousand five hundred stand of arms, twenty-five pieces of iron cannon, and eight of brass, the greater number of which had been captured by the Americans during the revolutionary war.

“The whole territory, and all the forts and garrisons of the United States, within the district of the general, were also formally surrendered: and the detachment under colonels Cass and M’Arthur, as well as the party under Captain Brush, were included in the capitulation. Orders had been despatched the evening before, for the detachment under Cass and M’Arthur to return, and they had approached almost sufficiently near to discover the

movements of the enemy, while their accidental situation might enable them to render the most material service during the attack. They were surprised at the silence which prevailed, when every moment was expected to announce the conflict; and that surprise was soon changed into rage, when they learned the capitulation. A British officer was then despatched to the river Raisin, to convey the intelligence to Captain Brush, who at first gave no credit to so improbable a tale, and actually put the officer in confinement. The melancholy story was, however, soon confirmed by some Americans who had escaped. Captain Brush indignantly refused to submit to the capitulation, declaring that Hull had no right to include him, and determined to return to the state of Ohio. He first deliberated whether he should destroy the public stores which he had in his possession, and which he could not carry away; but reflecting that this might be used as a pretext for harsh treatment to his countrymen, he resolved to abandon them. The greater part of the volunteers and militia were permitted to return home; but the regulars, together with the general, were taken to Quebec.

“In his official despatch, Hull took great pains to free his conduct from censure. In swelling the account of the dangers with which he conceived himself beset, every idle rumour which had operated on his fears was placed under contribution, while his imagination conjured up a thousand frightful phantoms. He magnified the reinforcements under Colonel Proctor, and gave implicit belief to the story that the whole force of the Northwestern Fur Company, under Major Chambers, was approaching; nothing, in fact, was forgotten which could heighten the picture, or tend to take the blame from him. While on the Canada side, it was impossible to effect anything against Malden, from the difficulty of transporting his artillery. Everything is difficult

to a man who wants the necessary talents. The British garrison had been wonderfully strengthened, and at this critical moment, General Hall, of Niagara, announced that it was not in his power to assist him. What then could be done but to cross over to Detroit? that is, to abandon the inhabitants of Canada, who had placed themselves under his protection; to fly before the enemy had even attempted to attack or molest him, and thus encourage them in what they would never probably have thought it possible to accomplish.

“But what appears most to figure, in this attempted vindication, is the frightful display of Indian auxiliaries. The whole ‘Northern hive,’ as he called it, was let loose: Winnebagos, Wyandots, Hurons, Chippeways, Knistenoos, and Algonquins, Pottowatomies, Sacs, and Kickapoos, were swarming in the neighboring woods, and concealed behind every bush, ready to rush to the indiscriminate slaughter of the Americans. He represented his situation, at the moment of surrender, as most deplorable. In consequence of the absence of Colonels Cass and M’Arthur, he could not bring more than six hundred men into the field, and he was, moreover, destitute of all necessary supplies and munitions of war: yet, by the morning’s report, his force exceeded a thousand men fit for duty, besides the detachment which might be expected to arrive, about the time of the engagement; and also three hundred Michigan militia, who were out on duty, which would make his force upwards of sixteen hundred. This force was much superior to that of the British, which consisted of about seven hundred regulars, one-half of which was nothing more than militia dressed in uniform, for the purpose of deception, and about six hundred Indians. Every other part of his statement was proved, by the officers under his command, to have been incorrect, or exaggerated. The most ordinary exertion would have



sufficed, to have completely destroyed the British force. He declared, that he was actuated by a desire to spare the effusion of human blood! If he had designedly intended the destruction of his fellow citizens, he could not have fallen upon a more unfortunate measure; for, by thus opening the frontier to the tomahawk of the savage, and giving reasons to our enemy for representing us as contemptible in arms, he invited those very savages, which he so much dreaded, to throw off every restraint, and declare themselves our foes. He might have foreseen, that a considerable force would be sent by the British, for the purpose of retaining this province, and that our country would be compelled to suffer an immense expense of blood and treasure, before our possessions here could be regained. Although this afterwards became the theatre of war, where many of our countrymen gained military renown, yet the effect of this lamentable occurrence was visible in every subsequent transaction on the borders of Canada."

The plan of surrender very nearly failed. The officers were disgusted, and it was seriously proposed to arrest Hull, and defend the post without him. Three, however, of the four officers next in rank to Gen. Hull, were absent, viz.: McArthur, Cass, and Miller; and the others shrank from so high and delicate a responsibility. The fact of the case was, that, knowing those officers disapproved of his course, they were kept almost constantly on detached service.

When the surrender was reported to Col. Cass, he broke his sword in despair, refusing to surrender it. The first idea of Cass and McArthur was to effect their return home; but, on an examination of the difficulties, it appeared impossible, and they reluctantly submitted.

The British commander having permitted the volunteers to return home, Col. Cass was ordered

by his senior, Col. McArthur, to repair to the seat of government, and report the circumstances to the authorities. While there, he wrote two letters, which unfold his ideas of all the circumstances, and which are valuable, because they give his plain, and certainly unvarnished, opinion of the most unfortunate accident which ever befel the American arms. The race at Bladensburg, and capture of Washington, were victories compared with it.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 10th, 1812.

Sir,—Having been ordered on to this place by Colonel M<sup>c</sup>Arthur, for the purpose of communicating to the government such particulars respecting the expedition lately commanded by Brigadier-General Hull and its disastrous result, as might enable them correctly to appreciate the conduct of the officers and men, and to develope the causes which produced so foul a stain upon the national character, I have the honour to submit for your consideration the following statement:

When the forces landed in Canada, they landed with an ardent zeal and stimulated with the hope of conquest. No enemy appeared within view of us, and had an immediate and vigorous attack been made upon Malden, it would doubtless have fallen an easy victory. I knew General Hull afterwards declared he regretted this attack had not been made, and he had every reason to believe success would have crowned his efforts. The reason given for delaying our operations was to mount our heavy cannon, and to afford to the Canadian militia time and opportunity to quit an obnoxious service. In the course of two weeks the number of their militia who were embodied had decreased by desertion from six hundred to one hundred men; and, in the course of three weeks, the cannon were mounted, the ammunition fixed, and every preparation made for an immediate investment of the fort. At a council, at



which were present all the field officers, and which was held two days before our preparations were completed, it was unanimously agreed to make an immediate attempt to accomplish the object of the expedition. If by waiting two days we could have the service of our heavy artillery, it was agreed to wait; if not, it was determined to go without it and attempt the place by storm. This opinion appeared to correspond with the views of the general, and the day was appointed for commencing our march. He declared to me that he considered himself pledged to lead the army to Malden. The ammunition was placed in the wagons; the cannon were embarked on board the floating batteries, and every requisite was prepared. The spirit and zeal, the ardour and animation displayed by the officers and men on learning the near accomplishment of their wishes, were a sure and sacred pledge, that in the hour of trial they would not be found wanting in duty to their country and themselves. But a change of measures, in opposition to the wishes and opinions of all the officers, was adopted by the general. The plan of attacking Malden was abandoned, and instead of acting offensively, we broke up our camp, evacuated Canada, and recrossed the river in the night, without even the shadow of an enemy to injure us. We left to the tender mercy of the enemy the miserable Canadians who had joined us, and the *protection* we afforded them was but a passport to vengeance. This fatal and unaccountable step dispirited the troops, and destroyed the little confidence which a series of timid, irresolute and indecisive measures had left in the commanding officer.

About the tenth of August, the enemy received a reinforcement of four hundred men. On the twelfth the commanding officers of three of the regiments (the fourth was absent) were informed through a medium which admitted of no doubt, that the general had stated that a capitulation would be neces-

sary. They on the same day addressed to governor Meigs of Ohio a letter, of which the following is an extract :

“ Believe all the bearer will tell you. Believe it, however it may astonish you, as much as if told by one of us. Even a c —— is talked of by the —— . The bearer will fill the vacancy.”

The doubtful fate of this letter rendered it necessary to use circumspection in its details, and therefore the blanks were left. The word “ capitulation” will fill the first, and “ commanding general” the other. As no enemy was near us, and as the superiority of our force was manifest, we could see no necessity for capitulating, nor any propriety in alluding to it. We therefore determined in the last resort to incur the responsibility of divesting the general of his command. This plan was eventually prevented, by two of the commanding officers of regiments being ordered upon detachments.

On the 13th, the British took a position opposite to Detroit, and began to throw up works. During that and the two following days, they pursued their object without interruption, and established a battery for two 18-pounders and an 8-inch howitzer. About sunset on the 14th, a detachment of 350 men from the regiments commanded by Colonel M'Arthur and myself was ordered to march to the river Raisin, to escort the provisions, which had some time remained there protected by a party under the command of Captain Brush.

On Saturday, the 15th, about 1 o'clock, a flag of truce arrived from Sandwich, bearing a summons from General Brock, for the surrender of the town and fort of Detroit, stating, he could no longer restrain the fury of the savages. To this an immediate and spirited refusal was returned. About 4 o'clock their batteries began to play upon the town. The fire was returned and continued without inter-

ruption and with little effect till dark.—Their shells were thrown till 11 o'clock.

At daylight the firing on both sides recommenced; about the same time the enemy began to land troops at the Springwells, three miles below Detroit, protected by two of their armed vessels. Between 6 and 7 o'clock, they had effected their landing and immediately took up their line of march. They moved in a close column of platoons, twelve in front, upon the bank of the river.

The fourth regiment was stationed in the fort; the Ohio volunteers and a part of the Michigan militia, behind some pickets, in a situation in which the whole flank of the enemy would have been exposed. The residue of the Michigan militia were in the upper part of the town to resist the incursions of the savages. Two twenty-four pounders loaded with grape-shot were posted on a commanding eminence, ready to sweep the advancing column. In this situation, the superiority of our position was apparent, and our troops, in the eager expectation of victory, awaited the approach of the enemy. Not a sigh of discontent broke upon the ear; not a look of cowardice met the eye. Every man expected a proud day for his country, and each was anxious that his individual exertion should contribute to the general result.

When the head of their column arrived within about five hundred yards of our line, orders were received from General Hull for the whole to retreat to the fort, and for the twenty-four pounders not to open upon the enemy. One universal burst of indignation was apparent upon the receipt of this order. Those, whose conviction was the deliberate result of a dispassionate examination of passing events, saw the folly and impropriety of crowding 1100 men into a little work, which 300 could fully man, and into which the shot and shells of the enemy were falling. The fort was in this manner filled;

the men were directed to stack their arms, and scarcely was an opportunity afforded of moving. Shortly after a white flag was hung out upon the walls. A British officer rode up to inquire the cause. A communication passed between the commanding generals, which ended the capitulation submitted to you. In entering into this capitulation, the general took counsel from his own feelings only. Not an officer was consulted. Not one anticipated a surrender, till he saw the white flag displayed. Even the women were indignant at so shameful a degradation of the American character, and all felt as they should have felt, but he who held in his hands the reins of authority.

Our morning report had that morning made our effective men present fit for duty 1060, without including the detachment before alluded to, and without including 300 of the Michigan militia on duty. About dark on Saturday evening the detachment sent to escort the provisions received orders from General Hull to return with as much expedition as possible. About 10 o'clock the next day they arrived within sight of Detroit. Had a firing been heard, or any resistance visible, they would have immediately advanced and attacked the rear of the enemy. The situation in which this detachment was placed, although the result of accident, was the best for annoying the enemy and cutting off his retreat that could have been selected. With his raw troops enclosed between two fires and no hopes of succour, it is hazarding little to say, that very few would have escaped.

I have been informed by Colonel Findley, who saw the return of the quarter-master-general the day after the surrender, that their whole force of every description, white, red and black, was 1030. They had twenty-nine platoons, twelve in a platoon, of men dressed in uniform. Many of these were evidently Canadian militia. The rest of their

militia increased their white force to about seven hundred men. The number of the Indians could not be ascertained with any degree of precision; not many were visible. And in the event of an attack upon the town and fort, it was a species of force which could have afforded no material advantage to the enemy.

In endeavouring to appreciate the motives and to investigate the causes which led to an event so unexpected and dishonourable, it is impossible to find any solution in the relative strength of the contending parties, or in the measures of resistance in our power. That we were far superior to the enemy; that upon any ordinary principles of calculation we would have defeated them, the wounded and indignant feelings of every man there will testify.

A few days before the surrender, I was informed by General Hull, we had 400 rounds of 24-pound shot fixed and about 100,000 cartridges made. We surrendered with the fort 40 barrels of powder and 2500 stand of arms.

The state of our provisions has not been generally understood. On the day of the surrender we had fifteen days of provisions of every kind on hand. Of meat there was plenty in the country, and arrangements had been made for purchasing and grinding the flour. It was calculated we could readily procure three month's provisions, independent of 150 barrels of flour, and 1300 head of cattle which had been forwarded from the State of Ohio, which remained at the river Raisin under Captain Brush, within reach of the army.

But had we been totally destitute of provisions, our duty and our interest undoubtedly was to fight. The enemy invited us to meet him in the field.

By defeating him the whole country would have been open to us, and the object of our expedition gloriously and successfully obtained. If we had been defeated we had nothing to do but to retreat



to the fort, and make the best defence which circumstances and our situation rendered practicable. But basely to surrender without firing a gun—tamely to submit without raising a bayonet—disgracefully to pass in review before an enemy as inferior in the quality as in the number of his forces, were circumstances, which excited feelings of indignation more easily felt than described. To see the whole of our men flushed with the hope of victory, eagerly awaiting the approaching contest, to see them afterwards dispirited, hopeless and desponding, at least 500 shedding tears, because they were not allowed to meet their country's foe, and to fight their country's battles, excited sensations, which no American has ever before had cause to feel, and which, I trust in God, will never again be felt, while one man remains to defend the standard of the Union.

I am expressly authorised to state, that Colonel McArthur and Colonel Findley, and Lieutenant-Colonel Miller viewed this transaction in the light which I do. They know and feel, that no circumstance in our situation, none in that of the enemy, can excuse a capitulation so dishonourable and unjustifiable. This too is the universal sentiment among the troops; and I shall be surprised to learn, that there is one man, who thinks it was necessary to sheath his sword, or lay down his musket.

I was informed by General Hull the morning after the capitulation, that the British forces consisted of 1800 regulars, and that he surrendered to prevent the effusion of human blood. That he magnified their regular force nearly five-fold, there can be no doubt. Whether the philanthropic reason assigned by him is a sufficient justification for surrendering a fortified town, an army and a territory, is for the government to determine. Confident I am, that had the courage and conduct of the general been equal to the spirit and zeal of the troops,

the event would have been brilliant and successful as it now is disastrous and dishonourable.

Very respectfully, sir, I have the honour to be,  
your most obedient servant,

LEWIS CASS,

*Col. 3d Regiment Ohio Volunteers.*

The Hon. William Eustis,  
*Secretary of War.*

This letter to the Secretary of War having attracted much attention and comment, Colonel Cass became involved in a correspondence with the Hon. Richard Rush, which we also give entire.

GENTLEMEN—I transmit you for publication the enclosed letter, politely and without solicitation addressed to me by Mr. Rush.

So far as respects myself personally, the tale it refutes merits no consideration and would meet no attention. Whether I am incompetent to the task of relating plain facts, many of which I saw, and on all of which I had the feelings and information of hundreds to guide me, is a question of no importance to the public, and of no interest to the editors of those papers who have asserted or insinuated it. But it is deeply interesting to their passions and pursuits, that every account which tends to exonerate the government from all participation in the event of an expedition feebly conducted, and in a capitulation dishonourably concluded, should be assailed openly and covertly. I was aware, that every man, who should attempt, by a disclosure of the truth, to communicate correct information, must expect to have his motives impugned and his character assailed by all the rancour of malignity and cagerness of party. As I felt no disposition to court, so I trust there was no necessity for avoiding an investigation like that. I had witnessed the irritation of feeling and the latitude of observation in many pa-

pers in the country. The terms "conscripts," "a little still-born army," and every injurious and opprobrious epithet, which party zeal could lavish upon western patriotism and enterprise, I had observed with regret, but without surprise. But I had to learn, that the editor of a newspaper upon his own responsibility would propagate a tale so false and unqualified, as that in the *United States Gazette* of — October last. The letter transmitted will show what credit is due to the assertion of men, who can discover little to condemn in an enemy's government, less to approve in their own.

I cannot resist the present opportunity of placing in its proper point of view, a transaction misrepresented with all the virulence of faction. The capitulation for the surrender of Detroit contained no stipulation allowing the commanding officer to forward to his government an account of the causes which produced, and of the circumstances which attended, so unexpected an event. The commanding officer himself became an unconditional prisoner of war. His liberation, or the intelligence he might communicate to his own government, depended on the interest or caprice of the enemy. In this situation, on the arrival of Colonel McArthur within the jurisdiction of the United States, he became the senior officer of those troops, which, by the capitulation, were permitted to return home, and as such it became a matter of duty to report himself to the government, and of propriety to communicate to them all the intelligence in his power. For this purpose the second officer in command present was ordered to repair to the seat of government. On his arrival he found the rumour of the disaster had preceded him, and that information was anxiously and impatiently expected. Public report had informed the government that they had lost a fort, an army, and a territory, but of the remote or direct causes which occasioned it, of the situation of their own



troops, or of the designs of the enemy, they were profoundly ignorant. Were they in this situation fastidiously to reject proffered information, and continue wilfully ignorant of a transaction so striking in its features, and so important in its consequences to the peace and character of the nation? Or were they not compelled by duty to seek every means of information, in order with promptitude to repair the evil, and with vigilance prevent the repetition of a similar one? Their duty surely cannot be mistaken by the most bigoted zealot of party. The act then of communicating intelligence and that of receiving it, was not merely neutral but commendable. Whether the officer upon whom this task devolved executed it well or ill, must be left for an enlightened community to determine. It was a duty over which the government had no control. As he gave it they must receive it, neither accountable for the manner nor the accuracy of his relation.

The question which has been so *ably* discussed, whether this statement is *official*, in itself a very clear one, will become important and interesting, when disputes about words shall again agitate the feelings and divide the opinions of the world. Until then, it is cheerfully relinquished to those who have so learnedly investigated it.

That an officer, in his report, must confine himself to those facts which passed within his own observation, and to which he could testify in a court of justice, is among the novel and extraordinary pretensions to which this communication has given birth. Meagre indeed would be every similar statement, were such a principle correct in theory or supported by practice. In a complicated transaction, it would present but a skeleton of a report, omitting many interesting details essential to a correct view of the subject, and necessary in the succession of facts which connect causes with their consequences. It would require almost as many reports as there were

actors, and instead of a faithful sketch by a single hand, a motley and discordant group of objects would meet the eye, exciting little interest and conveying little information. But, independent of any speculative view which may be taken of the subject, it is sufficient to refer every candid and dispassionate observer to the reports of military transactions which daily appear in our own and in other countries. The futility of the objection will be at once exposed, for it will be found that a report is seldom, if ever, made without violating this rule, for the first time applied as a standard to the statement of an officer of the most important military event which had occurred for many years in the history of his country.

The propriety of publishing such a report remains only to be investigated. In a government founded on the power and supported by the confidence of the people, the right of the public to receive information on all national transactions is too clear to require support or to fear denial. Whether a battle be won or lost; whether the event be brilliant or disastrous, the duty of communicating and the right of claiming information remain still the same. Four weeks after the surrender of an important post, while the public mind is agitated and public expectation alive, the government receive from an officer dispatched by the senior officer within their jurisdiction and subject to their control, a statement of the circumstances which preceded and accompanied the transaction. Two weeks would have been sufficient for the commanding officer to have forwarded his dispatches, had the capitulation conferred on him the right or the enemy the favour of doing it, immediately subsequent to the surrender. The government had a right to conclude the privilege was refused by them or the duty omitted by him. That portion of the troops, which, by the capitulation, was to be conveyed to the United States, afforded a

secure opportunity for this purpose. This having failed, it became uncertain at what period his communication would be received. Were the government then to withhold the information they possessed, because that information attributed the failure of the expedition to its commanding officer? The character of the nation, the reputation of the government, and of every individual embarked in that expedition, were involved in its issue. Was it of no importance, by a correct disclosure of facts, to redeem the public character and feelings? Was it of no importance, by placing in its proper point of view the features of the transaction, to show that the boasts of the enemy were as vain as their conquest was bloodless? To prove to our country that her sons might yet be led on to battle and perhaps to victory? The government, too, had a reputation to lose. That reputation was eagerly assailed. The failure of the expedition was attributed to the want of preparation, and the measures respecting it were characterised as imbecile and ignorant. The forbearance demanded was far from being granted. So far as respects the commanding officer, the details of an unfortunate expedition must be shrouded in Delphic obscurity, and the public await in dubious suspense the tedious process of military investigation. But every little nameless paper is at liberty to display its *brilliant* wit and *sarcastic* remarks at the expense of those who planned and ordered the expedition. Their reputation awaits the result of no trial. They must be offered up an expiatory sacrifice upon the altar of public indignation. The contemplated investigation, which is ultimately to determine the respective measure of merit and of blame, here becomes unnecessary. Its result is anticipated with that confidence which ought only to be inspired by an accurate knowledge of the attendant circumstances. To require in such a situation a studious concealment of those facts which would

enable the public correctly to appreciate the conduct of all, is to require a species of forbearance as little suited to the practice as to the duties of life.

I am aware, that nothing which can be said upon this subject will with many carry conviction, or produce acknowledgment. The most obvious considerations of reason and of justice will be overlooked. Such, in the conflicts of opinion and the collisions of party, has always been the case. But truth will ultimately prevail, and the public will eventually be enabled correctly to estimate the conduct of all who have had any agency in a transaction so deeply interesting to their character and feelings.

LEWIS CASS.

November 20, 1812.

Washington, November 3, 1812.

DEAR SIR—It was not until after I last had the pleasure to see you, and for some time after you left Washington, that the foolish insinuation, which has appeared in some of the newspapers, of my having been concerned in writing the letter you addressed to the Secretary of War, first came to my ears; nor have I, to this day, seen the insinuation in print. I would have contradicted it at once but that it seemed to me quite superfluous, and that it would be to confer a notice upon it which its idle character did not deserve. In what so strange an untruth could have originated, I am sure I know not; neither can I divest myself of embarrassment in thus troubling you with a line about it. I have not yet heard it said that I wrote the address you delivered to the volunteers of Ohio in the spring, before I ever had the pleasure to see or to know you; and yet, it is certain, that I wrote as much of that as I did of your letter to the Secretary of War.

I sincerely hope your health has been re-established since you left Washington, and that to other causes of regret connected with your march to De-

troit, there will not be added that of any permanent injury to your constitution.

Believe me, dear sir, with great respect and esteem, your obedient servant,

RICHARD RUSH.

Colonel Cass.

During the winter Colonel Cass was exchanged, and soon afterwards appointed a Colonel of the 27th Regiment of Infantry, and subsequently was promoted to the grade of Brigadier General in the army of the United States. Hull, in his report to the Secretary of War, had exonerated Colonel Cass and his associates, McArthur, Findley, and Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, from all censure, taking the exclusive responsibility on himself. This was but just, for in the whole affair he had consulted no one, and acted contrary to the known opinions of his officers. The services of these officers were appreciated, and, December 28, 1812, Governor Meigs transmitted to them the thanks of the Legislature, which, by a vote of the Senate and House of Representatives, he was instructed to do.

This terminated the connection of Colonel Cass with Hull's army. The future career of that general is well known, and the country approved both of the sentence and of his pardon.

## CHAPTER III.

Joins General Harrison's army—Moves to the Frontier—Crosses into Canada — Advance — Battle of the Thames, etc.—Cass complimented by General Harrison — Anecdotes—Governor of Michigan.

Soon after his appointment as a brigadier-general, Cass joined General Harrison at Seneca, the place of rendezvous for the army destined to recover the north-west territory and invade Canada. While at this point, General Cass was busily employed in preparatory arrangements, until General Harrison, who was in command, commenced his movement, which was on the 17th of September, 1813: on this day the venerable and distinguished Governor Shelby arrived at the head of four thousand volunteers from his state, Kentucky, anxious to avenge their friends and countrymen who had been so cruelly slaughtered at the River Raisin, after their surrender on the 22d of January.

The brilliant naval victory of Commodore Perry, having opened the Lake, General Harrison determined to embark his infantry in transports, and to send the horse by land to Detroit. In consequence of the immense preparation necessary to place on shipboard a whole army, the troops were not embarked until the 27th, and on the next day sailed from Put-in-bay to the Western Sister, a small island near Malden. In the mean time, the British commander evacuated Detroit and Malden, after destroying the munitions of war and other stores, and retreated up the valley of the Thames, being accompanied by Tecumseh's Indians. The debarkation



was effected without difficulty, under the immediate direction of General Cass, assisted by Commodore Perry, who, unable to find an enemy on his own element, had landed in search of new laurels, and now served as an aid-de-camp of General Harrison. Commodore Elliot was also present, and rendered efficient services. A rapid move was made on Detroit, which was reached on the 29th, and on the 30th the regiment of Colonel Johnson, which had been delayed one day at the Raisin in the pious labour of burying the victims of Proctor's inhuman massacre, arrived.

General Harrison and Governor Shelby now marched in pursuit of Proctor, with a picked force of thirty-five hundred men, selected from Ball's dragoons, Johnson's irregular horse, and Shelby's volunteers. General Cass was present, and contributed much to the success of the expedition, as he was now acknowledged as one of the notables of the west. They set out on the 29th of September, and on the next day captured a lieutenant of the enemy's dragoons, from whom they learned that Proctor had not heard of their advance. On the 4th of October, the army reached Chatham, about seventeen miles from Lake St. Clair, on one of the tributaries of the Thames, driving the enemy before them. The latter, when they retired, had destroyed the bridge; and while it was being repaired, the Indians, under Tecumseh, made an attack on the advance, but were at once dispersed by the artillery of Colonel Wood and Colonel Johnson's horse. At this place the American army captured two thousand stand of arms, a vast quantity of clothing, and drove the enemy for four miles before them. On the 5th, the pursuit was renewed, and the last camp of the enemy passed. Thence Colonel Wood was detached to reconnoitre, and soon returned with information that General Proctor had prepared for battle in a strong position, a few miles distant. This position



lay between a swamp and the river: immediately on the latter was the British left, where their artillery was posted, with the reverse flank on the swamp. Beyond the swamp were the Indians of Tecumseh. The position was very strong, and had no weak point, except that it was peculiarly open to a cavalry charge, and that the infantry was drawn up in open order. Proctor's force consisted of eight hundred regulars and two thousand Indians.

The American troops were more numerous, but the mass of them were untried men; while every man in the British and Indian army had been often under fire.

General Harrison placed Trotter's brigade in the front line, General King's in the second, and kept Miles' brigade as a reserve. The three were commanded by Major-General Henry. Another division, commanded by General Desha, was formed at right angles, or as technical soldiers say, *en potence*, on the left of General Trotter's brigade. The whole regular force of General Harrison, one hundred and twenty strong, was formed in attacking columns to be directed against the enemy's artillery. The mounted force General Harrison had ordered to form in two lines opposed to the Indians, but struck with the debility of the portion of Proctor's infantry, and aware of the skill of the Kentuckians as marksmen and horsemen, he resolved to make one battalion a battle-piece to act against the British regulars. The other, commanded by Colonel Johnson, was left to hold the Indians in check. This was a wise disposition, for the terror of the Indians at mounted men was notorious. It will be observed that General Cass had no command yet as a brigadier of the regular service, he was, in case of accident to General Harrison, undoubtedly entitled to command every one in the field except Generals Henry and Desha.

Scarcely had these dispositions been made when

the enemy opened their fire. This was the concerted signal for the cavalry to charge, and though at first they halted under the heavy discharge of the British regulars, they almost immediately dashed through the enemy's line, and rallying in his rear, a second time crossed it. Each time before the charge they poured in a murderous fire. As General Cass was at that time in the regular service, he had command of the small body of regulars in the field. At their head, however, was a distinguished officer, amply competent to lead them, and he therefore threw himself on the left of the battalion of the mounted regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson, and shared with them in the decisive charge described above, which decided the day. This charge was unprecedented, and its success can only be accounted for on the grounds of the peculiarly faulty formation of Proctor's regulars, and the moral force which must always be exerted by the attack of a line of six hundred mounted men. Immediately on the reverse charge of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson, the British regulars threw down their arms and fled in dismay. Proctor deserted his allies and abandoned all for lost. He was pursued immediately by a detachment under the orders of General Cass, and escaped, perhaps fortunately, for it is very doubtful if the orders of General Harrison and Governor Shelby, or even the great influence of Cass, would have saved from the infuriated Kentuckians the murderer of their kindred and countrymen.

In the other position of the field the success was equally decided—Col. R. M. Johnson, having dispersed the Indians, and killed, in personal contest, their chief, Tecumseh. This battle terminated the war in the northwest. Now came a season of brilliant triumph to the American arms. Hundreds of prisoners were taken; yet the massacre of the Raisin was not revenged. This victory placed General

Harrison in a most enviable position; and in his despatches, he conferred the highest praise on Gen. Cass, who, it was notorious, had been most conspicuous in the events of the day. A thousand other witnesses also bore testimony to his gallantry—one of whom, after the lapse of twelve years, when, however, Gen. Cass was by no means the prominent man he has since become, thus expressed himself:

“In the autumn of 1813, I well recollect General Cass, of the northwestern army, commanded by Harrison and Shelby. He was conspicuous at the landing of the troops upon the Canada shore, below Malden, on the 27th of September, and conspicuous at the battle of the Thames, as the volunteer aid of the commanding general. I saw him in the midst of the battle, in the deep woods upon the banks of the Thames, during the roar and clangor of fire-arms, and savage yells of the enemy. Then I was a green youth of seventeen, and a volunteer from Kentucky.”

The following official despatches are important, as showing the instrumentality of Gen. Cass in the success of this contest :

*Copy of a Letter from General Harrison to the Department of War.*

Head-quarters, near Moravian Town, on the River Thames, }  
80 miles from Detroit, 5th October, 1813. }

SIR — I have the honor to inform you, that by the blessing of Providence, the army under my command has this evening obtained a complete victory over the combined Indian and British forces under the command of General Proctor. I believe that nearly the whole of the enemy's regulars are taken or killed. Amongst the former are all the superior officers, excepting Gen. Proctor. My mounted men are now in pursuit of him. Our loss is very trifling. The brave Col. R. M. Johnson is the only officer

whom I have heard of that is wounded, he badly, but I hope not dangerously.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir, your obedient, humble servant,

WM. H. HARRISON.

The Hon. John Armstrong, Sec'y at War.

*Copy of a Letter from Major-General Harrison to the Secretary of War.*

Head-quarters, Detroit, 9th Oct., 1813.

SIR—In my letter from Sandwich, of the 30th ultimo, I did myself the honor to inform you, that I was preparing to pursue the enemy the following day. From various causes, however, I was unable to put the troops in motion until the morning of the 2d instant, and then to take with me only about one hundred and forty of the regular troops, Johnson's mounted regiment, and such of Gov. Shelby's volunteers as were fit for a rapid march, the whole amounting to about three thousand five hundred men. To Gen. McArthur, (with about 700 effectives,) the protecting of this place, and the sick, was committed. Gen. Cass's brigade, and the corps of Lieut. Col. Ball were left at Sandwich, with orders to follow me as soon as the men received their knapsacks and blankets, which had been left on an island in Lake Erie.

The unavoidable delay at Sandwich was attended with no disadvantage to us. General Proctor had posted himself at Dalson's, on the right bank of the Thames, (or Trench,) fifty-six miles from this place, where I was informed he intended to fortify and wait to receive me. He must have believed, however, that I had no disposition to follow him, or that he had secured my continuance here, by the reports that were circulated that the Indians would attack and destroy this place upon the advance of the army; as he neglected to commence the breaking up the bridges until the night of the 2d instant.

On that night our army reached the river, which is twenty-five miles from Sandwich, and is one of four streams crossing our route, over all of which are bridges, and, being deep and muddy, are unfordable for a considerable distance into the country—the bridge here was found entire, and in the morning I proceeded with Johnson's regiment, to save, if possible, the others. At the second bridge, over a branch of the river Thames, we were fortunate enough to capture a lieutenant of dragoons, and eleven privates, who had been sent by Gen. Proctor to destroy them. From the prisoners I learned that the third bridge was broken up, and that the enemy had no certain information of our advance. The bridge having been imperfectly destroyed, was soon repaired, and the army encamped at Drake's farm, four miles below Dalson's.

The river Thames, along the banks of which our route lay, is a fine, deep stream, navigable for vessels of considerable burthen, after the passage of the bar at its mouth, over which there is six and a half feet water.

The baggage of the army was brought from Detroit in boats, protected by three gun-boats, which Com. Perry had furnished for the purpose, as well as to cover the passage of the army over the Thames itself, or the mouths of its tributary streams; the banks being low, and the country generally open, (prairies,) as high as Dalson's, these vessels were well calculated for that purpose. Above Dalson's, however, the character of the river and adjacent country is considerably changed. The former, though still deep, is very narrow, and its banks high and woody. The commodore and myself, therefore, agreed upon the propriety of leaving the boats under a guard of one hundred and fifty infantry, and I determined to trust to fortune and the bravery of my troops to effect the passage of the river. Below a place called Chatham, and four miles above Dal-

son's, is the third unfordable branch of the Thames. The bridge over its mouth had been taken up by the Indians, as well as that at McGregor's Mills, one mile above. Several hundred of the Indians remained to dispute our passage, and upon the arrival of the advanced guard, commenced a heavy fire from the opposite bank of the creek, as well as that of the river. Believing that the whole force of the enemy was there, I halted the army, formed in order of battle, and brought up our two six pounders to cover the party that were ordered to repair the bridge. A few shot, from those pieces, soon drove off the Indians, and enabled us, in two hours, to repair the bridge and cross the troops. Colonel Johnson's mounted regiment being upon the right of the army, had seized the remains of the bridge, at the mills, under a heavy fire from the Indians. Our loss upon this occasion was, two killed and three or four wounded; that of the enemy was ascertained to be considerably greater. A house near the bridge, containing a very considerable number of muskets, had been set on fire, but it was extinguished by our troops, and the arms saved. At the first farm above the bridge, we found one of the enemy's vessels on fire, loaded with arms and ordnance stores, and learned that they were a few miles ahead of us, still on the right bank of the river, with the great body of the Indians. At Bowles's farm, four miles from the bridge, we halted for the night, found two other vessels and a large distillery filled with ordnance and other valuable stores, to an immense amount, in flames. It was impossible to put out the fire. Two twenty-four pounders, with their carriages, were taken, and a large quantity of ball and shells of various sizes. The army was put in motion early in the morning of the 5th: I pushed on in advance of the mounted regiment, and requested Gov. Shelby to follow as expeditiously as possible with the infantry; the governor's zeal, and that of his men,



enabled them to keep up with the cavalry, and, by 9 o'clock, we were at Arnold's Mills, having taken in the course of the morning, two gun-boats and several batteaux loaded with provisions and ammunition.

A rapid at the river at Arnold's Mills, affords the only fording to be met with for a considerable distance, but, upon examination, it was found too deep for the infantry. Having, however, fortunately taken two or three boats, and some Indian canoes, on the spot, and obliging the horsemen to take a foot-man behind each, the whole were safely crossed by 12 o'clock. Eight miles from the crossing, we passed a farm, where a part of the British troops had encamped the night before, under the command of Col. Warburton. The detachment with General Proctor had arrived the day before, at the Moravian towns, four miles higher up. Being now certainly near the enemy, I directed the advance of Johnson's regiment to accelerate their march, for the purpose of procuring intelligence. The officer commanding it, in a short time, sent to inform me, that his progress was stopped by the enemy, who were formed across our line of march. One of the enemy's waggons being also taken prisoner, from the information received from him, and my own observation, assisted by some of my officers, I soon ascertained enough of their position and order of battle, to determine that which it was proper for me to adopt.

I have the honor herewith to enclose you my general order, of the 27th ult., prescribing the order of march and of battle, when the whole army should act together. But, as the number and description of the troops had been essentially changed, since the issuing of the order, it became necessary to make a corresponding alteration in their disposition. From the place where our army was last halted, to the Moravian towns, a distance of about three and a half miles, the road passes through a beech forest,



without any clearing, and, for the first two miles, near to the bank of the river. At from two to three hundred yards from the river, a swamp extends parallel to it, throughout the whole distance. The intermediate ground is dry, and although the trees are tolerably thick, it is in many places clear of underbrush. Across this strip of land, its left *appoyed* upon the river, supported by artillery placed in the wood, their right in the swamp covered by the whole of their Indian force, the British troops were drawn up.

The troops at my disposal consisted of about one hundred and twenty regulars of the 27th regiment, five brigades of Kentucky volunteer militia infantry, under his excellency Governor Shelby, averaging less than five hundred men, and Colonel Johnson's regiment of mounted infantry, making in the whole an aggregate something above three thousand. No disposition of an army, opposed to an Indian force, can be safe, unless it is secured on the flanks and in the rear. I had, therefore, no difficulty in arranging the infantry conformably to my general order of battle. General Trotter's brigade of 500 men, formed the front line, his right upon the road and his left upon the swamp. General King's brigade, as a second line, 150 yards in the rear of Trotter's, and Chiles' brigade, as a corps of reserve in the rear of it. These three brigades formed the command of Major-General Henry; the whole of General Desha's division, consisting of two brigades, were formed *en potence* upon the left of Trotter.

Whilst I was engaged in forming the infantry, I had directed Colonel Johnson's regiment, which was still in front, to be formed in two lines opposite to the enemy, and, upon the advance of the infantry, to take ground to the left and forming upon that flank to endeavor to turn the right of the Indians. A moment's reflection, however, convinced me that from the thickness of the woods and swampiness of

the ground, they would be unable to do any thing on horseback, and there was no time to dismount them and place their horses in security; I therefore determined to refuse my left to the Indians, and to break the British lines at once by a charge of the mounted infantry; the measure was not sanctioned by any thing that I had seen or heard of, but I was fully convinced that it would succeed. The American backwoodsmen ride better in the woods than any other people. A musket or rifle is no impediment to them, being accustomed to carry them on horseback from their earliest youth. I was persuaded, too, that the enemy would be quite unprepared for the shock, and that they could not resist it. Conformably to this idea, I directed the regiment to be drawn up in close column, with its right at the distance of fifty yards from the road, (that it might be in some measure protected, by the trees, from the artillery,) its left upon the swamp, and to charge at full speed as soon as the enemy delivered their fire. The few regular troops of the 27th regiment, under their colonel, (Paul,) occupied, in column of sections of four, the small space between the road and the river, for the purpose of seizing the enemy's artillery, and some ten or twelve friendly Indians were directed to move under the bank. The *crotchet* formed by the front line, and General Desha's division, was an important point. At that place, the venerable governor of Kentucky was posted, who, at the age of sixty-six, preserves all the vigour of youth, the ardent zeal which distinguished him in the revolutionary war, and the undaunted bravery which he manifested at King's Mountain. With my aids-de-camp, the acting assistant adjutant general, Captain Butler, my gallant friend Commodore Perry, who did me the honor to serve as my volunteer aid-de-camp, and Brigadier-General Cass, who, having no command, tendered me his assistance. I placed myself at the head of

the front line of infantry, to direct the movements of the cavalry, and give them the necessary support. The army had moved on in this order but a short distance, when the mounted men received the fire of the British line, and were ordered to charge; the horses in the front of the column recoiled from the fire; another was given by the enemy, and our column, at length getting in motion, broke through the enemy with irresistible force. In one minute, the contest in front was over; the British officers, seeing no hopes of reducing their disordered ranks to order, and our mounted men wheeling upon them and pouring in a destructive fire, immediately surrendered. It is certain that three only of our troops were wounded in this charge. Upon the left, however, the contest was more severe with the Indians. Colonel Johnson, who commanded on that flank of his regiment, received a most galling fire from them, which was returned with great effect. The Indians still further to the right, advanced and fell in with our front line of infantry, near its junction with Desha's division, and for a moment made an impression upon it. His excellency, Governor Shelby, however, brought up a regiment to its support, and the enemy, receiving a severe fire in front, and a part of Johnson's regiment having gained their rear, retreated with precipitation. Their loss was very considerable in the action, and many were killed in their retreat.

I can give no satisfactory information of the number of Indians that were in the action, but they must have been considerably upwards of one thousand. From the documents in my possession, (Gen. Proctor's official letters, all of which were taken,) and from the information of respectable inhabitants of this territory, the Indians kept in pay by the British were much more numerous than has been generally supposed. In a letter to General de Rottenburg, of the 27th instant, General Proctor speaks of

having prevailed upon most of the Indians to accompany him. Of these it is certain that fifty or sixty Wyandot warriors abandoned him.\*

The number of our troops was certainly greater than that of the enemy, but when it is recollected, that they had chosen a position that effectually secured their flank, which it was impossible for us to turn, and that we could not present to them a line more extended than their own, it will not be considered arrogant to claim for my troops the palm of superior bravery.

In communicating to the president, through you, sir, my opinion of the conduct of the officers who served under my command, I am at a loss how to mention that of Governor Shelby, being convinced that no eulogium of mine can reach his merit. The governor of an independent state, greatly my superior in years, in experience, and in military character, he placed himself under my command, and was not more remarkable for his zeal and activity, than for the promptitude and cheerfulness with which he obeyed my orders. The Major-Generals Henry and Desha, and the Brigadiers Allen, Caldwell, King, Chiles and Trotter, all of the Kentucky volunteers, manifested great zeal and activity. Of Governor Shelby's staff, his Adjutant-General, Colonel McDowell, and his Quarter-Master General, Colonel Walker, rendered great service, as did his aids-de-camp, General Adair and Majors Barry and Crittenden. The military skill of the former was of great service to us, and the activity of the two latter gentlemen could not be surpassed. Illness deprived me of the talents of my Adjutant-General, Colonel Gaines, who was left at Sandwich. His

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\* A British officer of high rank assured one of my aids-de-camp, that on the day of our landing, General Proctor had, at his disposal, upwards of three thousand Indian warriors, but asserted that the greatest part had left him previous to the action.

duties were, however, ably performed by the acting assistant Adjutant-General, Captain Butler. My aids-de-camp, Lieutenant O'Fallon, and Captain Todd, of the line, and my volunteer aids, John Speed Smith and John Chambers, Esq., have rendered me the most important service, from the opening of the campaign. I have already stated that General Cass and Commodore Perry assisted me in forming the troops for action. The former is an officer of the highest merit, and the appearance of the brave Commodore cheered and animated every breast.

It would be useless, sir, after stating the circumstances of the action, to pass encomiums upon Col. Johnson and his regiment. Veterans could not have manifested more firmness. The colonel's numerous wounds prove that he was in the post of danger. Lieutenant-Colonel James Johnson, and the Majors, Payne and Thompson, were equally active, though more fortunate. Major Wood, of the engineers, already distinguished by his conduct at Fort Meigs, attended the army with two six-pounders. Having no use for them in the action, he joined in the pursuit of the enemy, and, with Major Payne, of the mounted regiment, two of my aids-de-camp, Todd and Chambers, and three privates, continued it for several miles after the rest of the troops had halted, and made many prisoners.

I left the army before an official return of the prisoners, or that of the killed and wounded, was made out. It was, however, ascertained that the former amounts to six hundred and one regulars, including twenty-five officers. Our loss is seven killed and twenty-two wounded, five of which have since died. Of the British troops, twelve were killed and twenty-two wounded. The Indians suffered most—thirty-three of them having been found upon the ground, besides those killed on the retreat.

On the day of the action, six pieces of brass artillery were taken, and two iron twenty-four pound-

ers the day before. Several others were discovered in the river, and can be easily procured. Of the brass pieces, three are the trophies of our revolutionary war, that were taken at Saratoga and York, and surrendered by General Hull. The number of small arms taken by us, and destroyed by the enemy, must amount to upwards of five thousand: most of them had been ours, and taken by the enemy at the surrender of Detroit, at the river Raisin, and Colonel Dudley's defeat. I believe that the enemy retain no other military trophy of their victories than the standard of the 4th regiment. They were not magnanimous enough to bring that of the 41st regiment into the field, or it would have been taken.

You have been informed, sir, of the conduct of the troops under my command, in action; it gives me great pleasure to inform you, that they merit also the approbation of their country for their conduct, in submitting to the greatest privations with the utmost cheerfulness.

The infantry were entirely without tents, and for several days, the whole army subsisted upon fresh beef, without bread or salt.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM H. HARRISON.

General John Armstrong, Secretary of War.

P. S. General Proctor escaped by the fleetness of his horses, escorted by forty dragoons and a number of mounted Indians.

#### GENERAL ORDERS — OF DEBARKATION, OF MARCH, AND OF BATTLE.

Head-quarters on board the U. S. Schooner Ariel, }  
September 27th, 1813. }

As it is the intention of the general to land the army on the enemy's coast, the following will be the order of debarkation, of march, and of battle.

The right wing of the army will be composed of the Kentucky volunteers, under the command of his



excellency, Governor Shelby, acting as Major-General. The left wing, of the light corps of Lieut. Col. Ball, and the brigades of Generals McArthur and Cass. This arrangement is made with a view to the localities of the ground upon which the troops are to act, and the composition of the enemy's force, and is calculated in marching up the lake or strait to place our regular troops in the open ground on the lake, where they will probably be opposed by the British regulars, and the Kentucky volunteers in the woods, which, it is presumed, will be occupied by the enemy's militia and the Indians. When the signal is given for putting to the shore, the corps of Lieutenant-Colonel Ball will precede the left wing; the regiment of volunteer riflemen, the right wing; these corps will land with the utmost celerity, consistent with the preservation of good order, and as soon as landed will seize the most favorable position for annoying the enemy and covering the disembarkation of the troops of the line. Gen. Cass's brigade will follow Col. Ball's corps, and Gen. Calmes' the volunteer riflemen. The regiments will land and form in succession upon those which precede them. The right wing, with its left in front, displaying to the left. The brigades of Generals King, Allen and Caldwell, will form successively to the right of Gen. Calmes's; Gen. McArthur's and Childs' brigades will form the reserve. The general will command in person the brigades of Gen. Cass and Calmes, assisted by Major-General Henry. His excellency, Governor Shelby will have the immediate command of the three brigades on the right, assisted by Major-General Desha. As soon as the troops are disembarked, the boats are immediately to be sent back to the fleet. It will be observed that the order of landing here prescribed, is somewhat that of direct eschellons deployed into line upon the advanced corps of the right and left wing. It is the intention of the general, however, that all the troops which



are provided with boats should land in as quick succession as possible ; and the general officers commanding towards the extremities of the line are authorised to deviate from the arrangement to counteract any movement of the enemy, by landing any part of their commands, previous to the formation of the corps, which is herein directed to precede them. The corps of Lieutenant-Colonel Ball, and the volunteer rifle regiment, will maintain the position they occupy on landing, until the troops of the line are formed to support them ; they will then retire through the intervals of the line, or to the flanks, and form in the rear of the line.

A detachment of artillery, with a six, four, and three-pounder, and howitzer, will land with the advanced light corps ; the rest of the artillery will be held in reserve, and landed at such points as Major Wood may direct.

The point of landing for the reserve, under Brigadier-General McArthur, cannot now be designated ; it will be made to support any point of the line which may require aid, or be formed on the flanks, as circumstances may render necessary. The arrangement for landing the troops will be made entirely under the direction of an officer of the navy, whom Commodore Perry has been so obliging as to offer for that purpose. The debarkation of the troops will be covered by the cannon of the vessels. The troops being landed, and the enemy driven off, or not opposing its landing, the army will change its front to the left, and form in order of battle, in the following manner : The two brigades of regular troops, and two of the volunteers, to be formed in two lines, at right angles to the shore of the lake. General McArthur's brigade, and Calmes' to form the front of the line, and Cass and Childs's the second line ; the regular troops still on the left ; that flank of both lines resting on the shore, the distance between the two lines will be three hundred yards.

The remaining three brigades of volunteers will be drawn up in a single line of two ranks, at right angles to the line of march, its head upon the right of the front line, forming a crotchet (*en potence*) with that line, and extending beyond the second line. The corps of Lieutenant-Colonel Ball will form the advance of the left wing at the distance of three hundred yards, the regiment of the rifle volunteers the advance of the right wing at the same distance.

Some pieces of light artillery will be placed in the road leading up the lake, and at such other points as Major Wood may direct. When the order is given for marching, the first and second lines will advance by files from the heads of companies; in other words, these two lines will form two columns, marching by their flanks, by companies, at entire distances. The three brigades on the right flank will be faced to the left, and marched forward — the head of this column still forming *en potence* with the front line. It is probable that the two brigades of the front line will extend from the lake, some distance into the woods, on the right flank, and it is desirable it should be so — but should it be otherwise, and the crotchet or angle be at any time on the open ground, his excellency, Governor Shelby, will immediately prolong the front line to the right by adding to it as many companies of the leading brigade of the flank column as will bring the angle and consequently the flank column itself completely within the woods. It is to be presumed that the enemy will make their attack upon the army on its march, that their regular troops will form their right upon the lake, their militia occupy the ground between the regulars and the woods, and the Indians the woods. The formation herein prescribed is intended to resist an arrangement of this kind. Should the general conjecture on that subject prove correct, as it must be evident that the

right of the enemy cannot be turned, and on that wing his best troops must be placed, it will be proper to refuse him our left, and direct our principal effort to uncover the left flank of his regulars by driving off his militia. In the event here supposed, therefore, it will be proper to bring up a part or the whole of General Cass's brigade, to assist the charge made by General Calmes, or that the former should change positions with the brigade of volunteers in the second line. Should the general think it safe to order the whole of Cass's brigade to the right, without replacing it with another, General Cass will march it, the right formed in oblique eschellons of companies. It will be the business of General McArthur, in the event of his wing being refused, to watch the motion of the enemy, (and with the assistance of the artillery,) prevent his front line at least from interrupting the progress of our right. Should the enemy's militia be defeated, the brigade of ours in advance will immediately wheel upon the flank of the British regulars, and General McArthur will advance to attack them in front. In the mean time, his excellency Governor Shelby can use the brigade in reserve of the second line, to prolong the flank line from its front or left, or to reinforce any weak part of the line. In all cases where troops in advance are obliged to retire, through those who are advancing to support them, it will be done by companies, in files, which will retire through the intervals of the advancing line, and will immediately form in the rear. The light troops will be particularly governed by this direction.

The disposition of the troops on the right flank is such as the commanding general thinks best calculated to resist an attack from Indians, which is only to be expected from that quarter. His excellency Governor Shelby will, however, use his discretion in

making any alteration which his experience and judgment may dictate. Lieutenant-Colonel Ball, Lieutenant-Colonel Simral, and the general officers commanding on the flank line are to send out small detachments in advance of the two former corps, and to the flank of the latter. Should they discover the enemy in face, immediately notice will be sent to the lines. The general commanding on the spot will immediately order the signals for forming in order of battle, which will be the beat "*to arms.*"

All signals will be immediately repeated by all the drums of the line — the signal for the whole to halt, is the retreat. Drums will be distributed along the heads of companies, and the taps occasionally given to regulate their march.

Lieutenant-Colonels Ball and Simrall are to keep the general constantly advised of the discoveries made by the advanced parties. Where it shall become necessary for the corps of Ball and Simrall to retire, they will form on the flank, or in the rear of McArthur's and Calmes's brigades, and receive the orders of the brigadiers respectively.

Brigadier-General Cass will designate such officers as he may deem proper, to assist Captain Elliot, of the navy, in the arrangement of the boats, and the debarkation of the troops. The *general* will be the signal for the whole to move. By command, (Signed)

EDMUND P. GAINES,

*Col. Adj. Gen.*

Truly copied from the original.

ROBERT BUTLER, *A. A. Adj. Gen.*

Not only did General Cass thus distinguish himself in the field, but he acquired a celebrity equally enviable by his kindness and consideration to his men. The following anecdote derived from an undoubted authority, best illustrates this trait:

"While a number of old soldiers were being in-

roduced to General Cass, one of our citizens approached the general, and asked if he remembered him. Upon replying that he did not, he gave the following account of their first meeting:—‘In the spring of 1813, Fort Meigs was besieged by the British and Indians, and the militia of Ohio were called out to march to the relief of the fort. General Cass was appointed to the command. Six thousand assembled at Upper Sandusky, of whom two thousand were selected to proceed on to the fort. The marshes and woods were filled with water, making the roads almost impassable. The commanding general had not yet arrived, but was daily expected. On the second day of the march, a young soldier, from exposure to the weather, was taken sick. Unable to march in the ranks, he followed along in the rear. When at a distance behind, attempting with difficulty to keep pace with his comrades, two officers rode along, one a stranger, and the other the colonel of his regiment. On passing him, the colonel remarked, ‘general, that poor fellow there is sick; he is a good fellow though, for he refuses to go back; but I fear that the Indians will scalp him, or the crows pick him, before we get to Fort Meigs.’ The officer halted, and dismounted from his horse. When the young soldier came up, he addressed him: ‘My brave boy, you are sick and tired, I am well and strong; mount my horse and ride.’ The soldier hesitated. ‘Do not wait,’ said the officer; and, lifting him upon his horse, with directions to ride at night to the general’s tent, he proceeded on foot to join the army. At night, the young soldier rode to the tent, where he was met by the general with a cheerful welcome, which he repaid with tears of gratitude. That officer was General Cass, and the young soldier was the person addressing him, our worthy fellow-citizen, John Laylin.’ The general, remembering the circumstance, immediately recognised him. Mr.

Laylin remarked, 'general, that act was not done for the world to look upon; it was done in the woods, with but three to witness it.'

This anecdote was elicited with others, at a large and spontaneous meeting held at Norwalk, Ohio, in September last, to advocate General Cass as a candidate for the presidency. At the same time and place, it was stated by the late Colonel Hamer, "that on one of General Cass's recent tours, his carriage was one day stopped by a man who, addressing the general, said: 'I can't let you pass without speaking to you. You don't know me, general.' General Cass replied that he did not. 'Well, sir, (said he) I was the first man in your regiment to jump out of the boat on the Canadian shore.' 'No, you were not,' (said General Cass;) 'I was the first man myself on shore.' 'True, (said the other;) I jumped out first into the river to get ahead of you; but you held me back, and got on shore ahead of me.'"

The battle of the Thames put an end to the North-Western campaign, and separated the force of the enemy, but all difficulty was far from being removed. The advance of General Harrison's army had again put the United States in possession of Michigan, and also given them the control of a large portion of Upper Canada. To the command of this important district, General Cass was assigned by General Harrison, previous to the withdrawal of the liberating army. On the 9th of October, 1813, Mr. Madison appointed him civil governor of Michigan, his acceptance of which post, of course, vacated his commission as brigadier-general. This was an office of immense power, and necessarily so. At the head both of the civil and military establishments of an almost limitless region, filled with hostile Indians and frequented by British emissaries, he was often called on to exercise his authority in both capacities.

The country was left almost without permanent defenders, and the Indians in predatory bands ad-



vanced almost under the guns of Detroit, while persons were killed within view of the sentinels of the garrison. To put an end to and punish such outrages, on three occasions, bodies of mounted volunteers were collected, and under the immediate command of General Cass, employed against the marauders. This was a most dangerous service, and one which led to little renown, yet was most important. It is probable, that of all the North American tribes, except, perhaps, the Seminoles, those which at that day were strewn along the Northern lakes, were at the same time, the most astute and courageous. The marches through the wilderness were perpetually beset with ambuscades, and the strictest military precaution was necessary to guard against surprise and massacre. On more than one occasion the general was in danger, having seen his servant, who rode immediately behind him, fired on, and attacked by an Indian with a clubbed rifle: the assailant killed with difficulty, after a hand-to-hand contest.

Peace came at last and put an end to this contest, the bitterness of which had been previously allayed by a treaty entered into in July 1814, at Greenville, Ohio, with the Indians who had borne arms against the United States during the war. The commissioners to effect this were General Harrison and General Cass; and the high talent and reputation of the two, doubtless, exerted much influence on the savage negociators, who, during General Cass's administration of the government of Michigan, had learned that he was not a man to be trifled with, and that they could not devastate the settlements with impunity. The negociators were so far successful, that a peace was concluded, and a formidable body of the Indians, who had been led astray by British intrigue, were actually mustered into the service of the United States as auxiliaries, and accompanied General Cass to Detroit. How peculiar



General Cass's condition subsequently became, may be estimated from the fact that, in all Michigan, there was but one company of regular soldiers, who, with the unembodied militia and the auxiliaries mentioned above, were expected to defend the country against the numerous Indians who were perpetually on the alert to resume their old attitude of war and defiance.

Immediately on the conclusion of peace, General Cass moved his family to Detroit, where, except when called thence by public service, he has regularly resided.

## CHAPTER IV.

Michigan after the War — Commissioner to treat with the Indians — Improved condition of Michigan, etc. — Literary Matters.

THE condition of Michigan on the termination of the war was peculiar, and the country presented one scene of devastation, so that when the inhabitants who had been driven off by the invaders returned, they found but the wrecks of their former homes. The original white colonists of the country had been French, and from Montreal and Quebec. The Jesuit fathers had passed to Detroit, on their way to achieve the vastest discovery after that of Columbus and Balboa, which had been made on the continent. When Henepin and his companions discovered the Mississippi, Detroit acquired new importance to that it previously possessed from its commanding the passage to lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior, and because it was a connecting link in the chain of fortifications which shut in the then British colonies. Its possession after the capture of Fort Duquesne, became yet more important, and great efforts were made by De Levi and the other French governors of Canada, to promote its colonization. When Canada fell into the hands of Great Britain, the post lost none of its value, and acquired a great numerical strength from the emigration of the peculiar population which even now distinguishes Upper from Lower Canada.

The treaty of peace which terminated the revolutionary war, gave all the country south of the lakes to the United States; yet, for a long time, the British garrisons remained, and became the seat of the in-

trigues which produced the hostilities in which St. Clair was so disastrously defeated, and which were terminated by the brilliant victories of Wayne.

Under these circumstances there had been but little emigration thither from the United States, and the people continued still almost purely Canadian. The usual privileges and franchises which had been conferred on the people of the other territories, had not been extended to Michigan, the government of which continued purely military. The British invasion had not lessened the evil of this state of things, and during it the laws had become silent, morals had suffered, and great prudence was necessary in the government to restore order and industry. It became the duty of General Cass to establish a civil government, and he did this almost unassisted. To give an idea how completely he was unaided in this labour, it will only be necessary to state, that the territory had no deliberative assembly, and that the legislative power resided in the governor, assisted by the judges of the district courts of the United States, who had been appointed by Mr. Madison about the same time he had received his civil appointment. Though the depository of this high power, altogether an anomaly in our country, and which would have flattered the vanity of a feebler mind, General Cass was unceasing in his efforts to procure for Michigan the privilege of sending a delegate to the Congress of the United States, and the authorization of the sale of the public lands in Michigan. It was not, however, until 1819, that these changes were effected, which, of course, limited his own power, but contributed much to the prosperity of Michigan. The judgment of the people in relation to its rulers is infallible; and no better evidence of General Cass's purity and ability can be given, than that, under seven successive administrations, he was re-nominated on the legal expiration of his term of service, and each time unanimously confirmed by

the Senate of the United States, without one remonstrance from the large territory over which he presided, and which had, under his care, rapidly thriven and prospered.

The war had left much bitterness of feeling in the minds of the many Indian tribes within Michigan against the United States. This was natural enough. The great principle of their moral organization was a feeling of the justice of revenge for injuries,—not by any means a peculiarity of the red man,—and they could not forget their sufferings at Tippecanoe, the Thames, and Fort Meigs, where their bravest chiefs and warriors had fallen. Every one, therefore, knew that the peace concluded at Greenville, Ohio, in 1814, was even on the part of the tribes who participated in it but a truce, the bonds of which, on the first opportunity, would be thrown off. The chief part of General Cass's duty, therefore, was to attempt to convert this truce into a solid and lasting peace, and to endeavour to induce the Indians to follow their own true interests, which could only be attained under the protection of and not by hostility to the United States.

During the year 1815, Governor Cass was, with his old companion in arms, Colonel McArthur, appointed to represent the United States in a talk or conference to be held with various Indian tribes at Fort Meigs. The conference resulted in a treaty by which the Indians ceded to the United States the title to the valuable lands composing the Northwestern portion of the state of Ohio. During the next year, another conference was held at St. Mary's, by which the Pottawatamies and other minor tribes ceded to the United States much valuable land within the limits of Indiana. In 1819, he presided at another conference at Saginaw, where the Indians in Michigan ceded to the United States large and valuable tracts of land. By these important treaties, and others explanatory of them, the

total number of which was twenty-one, General Cass acquired for the United States one hundred millions of acres of land, now teeming with an active and prosperous population.

It has now become the custom to scoff at Indian treaties, and the history of the past unfortunately exhibits too much reason for looking on them generally, if not fraudulent, yet as not contracted with the solemn faith which should characterize obligations of their nature. It is, however, very certain that the Indians have never submitted in silence when they have been wronged, and in no instance do we hear any complaint made, either by them or in their behalf, of wrong from the hands of General Cass. During these years, and subsequently, General Cass participated in many eventful scenes, the narration of which, though interesting, must be omitted; one of which, however, was most peculiar and too striking to be neglected—

In the year 1820, at the instance of General Cass, Mr. Calhoun, who was then secretary at war, authorized an expedition to the Upper Lakes for the purpose of passing from the western extremity of Lake Superior to the Mississippi, with a view to explore that then unknown land, and open a communication with the Indians who inhabited it and the shores of the noble lakes through which they must pass to reach *Fond du Lac*. Accompanying the party, besides Captain Douglas of the United States engineer corps, were several men of science, among whom was the Indian archæologist and historian Schoolcraft, who were charged to make an elaborate and scientific report on the topography of the country, its mineral and probable agricultural resources. The government having determined to establish a military post at the Sault or rapids of St. Marie, Governor Cass was authorized to inform the chiefs and warriors of the circumstance. The Indians of the Sault of St. Marie belonged to the

alliance of Sioux, Winnebagoes, Ottawas, and Ojibways, who had, on the 17th of August, 1812, surprised the garrison of Macinac, in co-operations with a British and Canadian force, on which occasion the chief of the band had been conspicuous. When the Indians had assembled in council, the resolution of the President was formally announced. Under the influence of their chief, who yet continued friendly to the English, if he was not in their pay, they immediately left the council fire, and showed their hostility most decidedly by conveying their women and children across the river which separated them from Canada; at the same time they hoisted a British flag, and prepared for fight. General Cass had with him only an escort of a subaltern's guard, but the act was one which, if suffered to pass unrebuked, might ultimately occasion the most disastrous consequences. He therefore, accompanied by no one but an interpreter, proceeded at once to the Indian position, and with his own hands struck the British ensign. He then told the Indians promptly and decidedly, and in a manner adapted to their own habits of thought and expression, that they stood within the United States, and that no other flag would be permitted to wave within its territory. He then returned to his escort bearing with him the flag which British officials yet encouraged their savage allies of the war of 1812 to prostitute. The reports of this expedition, published by order of Congress, from the pens of Captain Douglas and Mr. Schoolcraft, are of the most interesting character possible in unfolding the immense resources of the country north of Illinois and west of lake Superior. In other respects it was not less important; treaties which subsisted unbroken until the Black Hawk war, having been formed not only with the Indians at the Sault, but with other tribes of the immense northern hive.

The presence of the Sauks and Foxes on the Rock



River, west of lake Michigan, and the fact that the Winnebagoes and other tribes actually had possession of the territory west of lake Superior, now constituting the state of Wisconsin, long kept settlers from it; but the result of this exploration was deeply impressed on the popular mind, so that as soon as these difficulties were removed, a population rushed in, and Wisconsin, previously known only from the lead mines in its south-western corner, became at once the seat of a thriving agricultural industry.

In 1821, Governor Cass was again employed in the negotiation of the treaty of Chicago. On this occasion, so feeble was the transportation across the present populous states of Ohio and Indiana, that he was forced to embark at Detroit in a canoe of bark, pass thence to the mouth of the Maumee, which he ascended to the portage between that river and the Wabash, which he descended to its confluence with the Ohio. Thence he proceeded by St. Louis up the Illinois river, and across the Portage to Chicago. At that place a treaty was negotiated with the Pottawatamie and other tribes, by which the right to an immense tract of land in Michigan south of Grand River was acquired. This was a trip of great hardship, the severity of which the traveller over these states at present can with difficulty conceive of. He was forced to encamp at night in the wilderness and was exposed to all the severity of the weather.

In 1823, Governor Cass was called upon to negotiate yet another treaty, advantageous both to the Indian and the United States, by which a valuable tract of land in Muskingum county, Ohio, was ceded to the United States.

In 1825, Mr. Adams appointed Governor Cass and the celebrated William Clark of Missouri commissioners to treat with the Sioux, Winnebagoes, Menominies, Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawatamies,



Sauks and Foxes, and Iowas. During his tour in 1821, previously described, General Cass had observed that many, if not all of the disputes among the Indians occurred from the undefined nature of their boundaries, which were only ascertained by traditions, and that in many cases where two tribes were abstractions from some old race, in one district the authority of the rightful governors could not be positively ascertained. The conference referred to was called for the purpose of correcting this great evil, and if possible to fix the limits of the hunting grounds and the jurisdiction of each tribe. To this scheme much opposition was interposed, as each tribe apprehended its own power would be lessened and that of its neighbours increased. The United States wished no concession, and obtained none, yet effected much for the good of the country—peace being effected between the Sauks, Sioux, Chippeways and Ioways, and the possibility of future conflicts much lessened.—Every intestine Indian disturbance will always agitate and affect the prosperity of the frontier nearest the scene of trouble, and the diminution of these troubles must always be grateful to the peaceful and industrious frontiersman, on such occasions not only liable to Indian outrage, but also to injury from the houseless vagabonds, refugees and others always ready to make an Indian war a pretext for crime.

At this council, which was held at Prairie du Chien, an immense concourse of chiefs and warriors assembled, the number of which has been variously estimated. In full costume and paint, the Sauks and Foxes ascended the Mississippi to Prairie du Chien, passing the town with their canoes in line, singing their wild but not unmusical war songs. Tribe after tribe assembled at the spot appointed for the council, in which were almost all the notables of the Indians of that region, among whom were Keokuk and Black Hawk, then in the prime of their

lives, side by side with the old warriors of 1812, who on more than one occasion had fought side by side with British veterans, whom they had often surpassed, in support of the pretensions of England. The treaty lasted several days, and was satisfactory to both parties. One of Governor Cass' co-commissioners, Colonel McKenney, has given a picturesque account of this expedition. On the return of Governor Cass, another treaty on the Wabash was effected, by which a large tract of land was ceded in the limits of Indiana.

In 1827, treaties were negotiated at Green Bay and at Saint Joseph's, under the agency of Governor Cass. On his arrival at Green Bay, on the western side of lake Michigan, for the purpose of treating with the Winnebagoes, who were to have joined in the negotiation, he was informed that they were embodying rapidly and apparently preparing for war. It was not a season for delay or hesitation, and he at once embarked in a birchen-bark canoe, in which he had previously passed up the Maumee and Illinois to Chicago, and crossing the portage into the Wisconsin, proceeded at once, with but two or three voyagers, to the encampment of the Winnebagoes. On his arrival at the bank, he landed alone and sought without effect to speak to them. After several useless attempts to confer with them, he retired towards his canoe, and had no sooner turned his back than a young warrior took deliberate aim at him and attempted to fire. The piece did not explode, and convinced of the hostility of the tribe by these significant acts, he immediately left them. He went down the river, and at Prairie du Chien found the whole population in the greatest alarm; a few days before a large batteau had been attacked by a hostile party, and the crew had with difficulty beaten off their assailants, and a family had been murdered and scalped in the village. After organizing the people for their own defence, (the place

was then ungarrisoned) he hurried to St. Louis, whence a large detachment of troops was at once sent to the scene of difficulty, and reinforced by a body of Illinois militia and troops from Michigan; the members of the tribe who had committed the outrages were surrendered and tranquillity restored. On this tour, Governor Cass had travelled in an open boat eighteen hundred miles. To his exertions, and the ability of the distinguished officer in command of the troops, must be attributed the preservation of the frontier from a border war.

Early in 1828, Governor Cass, in conjunction with Colonel Pierre Menard, was again called upon to treat with various tribes of Indians, for the possession of the mineral lands on the Mississippi south of the Wisconsin. The seat of the council was Green Bay, where the commissioners arrived late in the summer; but, on the 25th of August, formed a treaty or concordat, permitting the Indians to occupy the lands in which were the lead mines. During the next year a more formal treaty was, according to the stipulations of the concordat, to be held, for the purchase of the whole mineral country, and in the intervening time no white man was to cross a given line to dig for ore. One clause provided, that for the trespasses already committed, the aboriginal possessors were to be paid \$20,000. This agreement was ratified by the Senate and the President, January 7, 1829.

In 1822, General Cass had effected the organization of a legislative council, which relieved him of an onerous post, his duties, and permitted him to attend to his scheme of Indian pacification, to which he contributed more than any living man.

## CHAPTER V.

General Cass's Civil Services—Literary History—John Hunter—General Jackson—Nullification—Alabama—Black Hawk War—Creek War—Seminole War—Minister to France.

THE messages of Governor Cass to the council of Michigan, have attracted general attention, and but for the fact that they relate to merely local matters, are well worthy of consideration. They are written in a style which has commanded general attention on account of its uniform chastity and dignity, exhibiting a rare cultivation apparently incompatible with the fact, that he had reaped the benefit of no college lore, but necessarily had to rely on the innate powers of his own mind, called into action by the emergencies, among which, the fortunes of his early life were cast.

The general pacification of the whole west, however, allowed General Cass an opportunity to attend to literary pursuits, and to establish his reputation on as high a pinnacle as a man of letters, as he had previously done as a soldier and negotiator. Long, however, before this time, in 1825, a narrative had been published by a person called John Hunter, which from its ingenuity, almost recalls the famous Ireland forgeries. John Hunter professed himself to be a person of white extraction, who had been stolen, or captured while young, by a war-party of the great *Wausache*, or Osage tribe, and adopted by them. In a narrative of his life, he professed to give an *esquise* of his own adventures and of the history of the Osage. The book has since been acknow-

ledged as a palpable forgery, but at the time it made a great impression on the popular mind. Governor Cass, from his great intercourse and familiarity with the Indian character, was not to be imposed upon, and at once detected its many errors. These he exposed in an article in the fiftieth number of the *North American Review*, which at the time attracted universal attention from its peculiarly eloquent style, and the engrossing interest of its subject. The whole article was subsequently translated into German, and printed in more than one of the reviews of that country, which, perhaps, in a literary point of view, is the most prolific and most critical of all Europe. In yet another article, he alluded to the history of the aboriginal race, referring to its history and statistics in a peculiarly happy style, which not only commanded the attention of the antiquarian but of the student of general literature. This article was printed in the fifty-fifth number of the *North American Review*.

Not only did General Cass in person attend to literary pursuits, but amid his multifarious engagements, he contrived to excite attention to similar subjects among the number of young and enterprising men who, under his auspices, flocked to Michigan, in search of fame and fortune. He was mainly instrumental in forming the Historical Society of Michigan, the first annual address to which he delivered, in which he called attention to the peculiarly picturesque and strange history of Michigan, previous to its occupation by the United States. This address was delivered in 1829.

The reputation of General Cass had extended far and wide, and, at the instance of the alumni of Hamilton College in New York, he delivered the anniversary address. College harangues and orations delivered on the fourth of July are usually considered beyond the pale of criticism, but the high tone, dignified research and character of this oration, al

most places it above it. So often have honorary degrees been prostituted by being conferred on unworthy persons, that we might well omit stating, that Mr. Cass received from this University the honorary degree of LL. D. Previous to this, he had been appointed a member of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, of the New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Indiana Historical societies, of the American Antiquarian Society, and of the American Institute. On the records of the proceedings of each of these societies the name of Governor Cass will always be found in honourable connection with subjects of great national interest.

On the fourth of March, 1829, General Jackson was inaugurated as President of the United States, and one of his earliest official acts was to nominate to the Senate, Lewis Cass as Governor of Michigan; on which occasion, for the seventh time, he was confirmed. Immediately on the entrance of General Jackson on the discharge of his official duties, he made the following nominations, which were confirmed unanimously by the Senate. Martin Van Buren of New York, was appointed Secretary of State; Samuel D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania, of the Treasury; John H. Eaton, of Tennessee, of War; John Branch, of North Carolina, of the Navy; J. McPherson Berrien, Attorney-General; and William T. Barry, of Kentucky, Postmaster-General.

This cabinet had but a brief existence, and during the months of April and June, 1831, in consequence of a social misunderstanding and want of harmony in the cabinet, all except Mr. Barry resigned, and a new cabinet was organized, as follows: Edward Livingston, of Louisiana, Secretary of State; Louis M'Lane, of Delaware, Secretary of the Treasury; Lewis Cass, of Ohio, Secretary of War; Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire, Secretary of the Navy; Roger B. Taney, of Maryland, Attorney-General;



and William T. Barry, of Kentucky, Postmaster-General, continued.

This cabinet was not only superior to that which preceded it, but might fairly be compared, in point of talent and ability, with most of those of previous administrations; and its character furnished strong testimony of the tribute paid to public opinion in the selection of his advisers, by a chief magistrate of great personal popularity.

The removal of General Cass from Michigan was greatly regretted by the people of the territory over whose fortunes he had long presided, and whom he had conducted from almost their state's infancy to prosperity and importance. The history of General Jackson has now passed into the annals of the country and of the world. In all the events of this administration General Cass played a conspicuous part. The important questions of the bank, of the removal of the deposits and the consequences, of nullification, the French indemnification, nullification, and the Creek and Cherokee difficulties, each of which involved the long mooted and important questions of the rights of the state and federal governments. These questions, and all similar ones, it is to be hoped are now and for ever at rest; and it is far more pleasant to forget than to dwell on them. They were curious in their nature and origin, especially from the fact that during their discussion all party lines were forgotten. Mr. Clay, of Kentucky, Mr. Webster, and their friends, who previously and since had bitterly opposed General Jackson, siding with him; while his friends, Mr. Mangum, of North Carolina, Mr. Calhoun, of South Carolina, Mr. Tyler, of Virginia, and hosts of others who previously had been his strenuous supporters, arrayed themselves against him.

The war department, over which Mr. Cass presided during the nullification difficulty, was especially active, and the correspondence between the



secretary and General Scott, who commanded the United States troops sent to Charleston, was one of the most interesting and instructive ever published in the country. Each of these high officers seemed aware of the importance of the crisis, and exerted their high talents and brilliant acquirements to the true interests of the nation. The crisis passed, and to no other two men in the United States are the obligations of the country so justly due. A well known writer thus succinctly states the services of General Cass:

“At the portentous period of nullification, the military orders were firm, but discreet; and it appeared by a message from the President, in answer to a call upon that subject, that *no order had been at any time given to ‘resist the constituted authorities of the State of South Carolina, within the chartered limits of said State.’* The orders to General Scott informed him that, *‘should, unfortunately, a crisis arise when the ordinary power in the hands of the civil officers should not be sufficient for the execution of the laws, the President would determine the course to be taken, and the measures to be adopted; till then he was prohibited from acting.’*”

Respect to law has ever been the characteristic of the true soldier, and this feeling was at this stormy crisis most emphatically expressed by the conduct of General Cass. At a later day, in relation to the difficulties which seemed not unlikely to arise between the United States and Alabama, in consequence of trespasses on the lands of the United States acquired from the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Muscogee or Creek Nations, General Cass expressed the most law-fearing opinions, which were fully sustained by his conduct. No clearer evidence of this can be given than a letter from the office of the Secretary of War to the now distinguished Colonel McIntosh, then a major of the army, dated Washington city, October 29, 1833. It was as follows:

“SIR—Your letter of the 21st instant to Major General Macomb has been laid before me; and, in answer, I have to inform you that you will interpose no obstacle to the services of legal process upon any officer or soldier under your command, whether issuing from the courts of the State of Alabama, or of the United States. On the contrary, you will give all necessary facilities to the execution of such process. It is not the intention of the President that any part of the military force of the United States should be brought into collision with the civil authority. In all questions of jurisdiction, it is the duty of the former to submit to the latter, and no considerations must interfere with that duty. If, therefore, an officer of the State, or of the United States, come with legal process against yourself, or an officer or soldier of your garrison, you will freely admit him within your post, and allow him to execute his writ undisturbed.”

Next come references to matters of routine and service.

For many years the bureau of the Secretary of War had not been called on to conduct any active operations on a large scale, and the army, by the gradual exigencies of the service, had been distributed in detachments from Maine to Louisiana, on both frontiers, without any force at any one point sufficient to hold in check a score of mutinous Indians, or to restrain even a band of marauding smugglers. A series of events now, however, occurred, which called forth all the energy of the government, and for a long time created great anxiety not only on the western frontier but throughout the United States. From the treaty of peace contracted in 1814, the Winnebagoes, the Sauk, and Foxes, had been, though quiet, far from being friendly to the government. At various times they had been anxious for war, which had been prevented only by great moderation on the part of the officials of the

United States, and had remained under the influence of chiefs notoriously friendly to Great Britain, and therefore hostile to the government under which they lived. In 1832, however, soon after he had entered on the discharge of his functions, the contest known as the Black-Hawk war began. Terminated by the brilliant affair of the Bad-Axe, by General Atkinson, and the admirable arrangements of General Scott, it remains a trophy of the good management of the department, and of the military talents of those distinguished officers.

General Cass in his annual report, dated November 25, 1832, to the President, thus speaks of this campaign :

“General Atkinson, with the regular troops and militia under his command, pursued the Indians through a country very difficult to be penetrated, of which little was known, and where much exertion was required to procure regular supplies. These circumstances necessarily delayed the operations, and were productive of great responsibility to the commanding officer, and of great sufferings and privations to all employed in this harassing warfare. The Indians, however, were driven from their fastnesses, and fled towards the Mississippi, with the intention of seeking refuge in the country west of that river. They were immediately followed by General Atkinson, with a mounted force, overtaken, and completely vanquished. The arrangements of the commanding general, as well in the pursuit as in the action, were prompt and judicious, and the conduct of the officers and men was exemplary. The campaign terminated in the unqualified submission of the hostile party, and in the adoption of measures for the permanent security of the frontiers, and the result has produced upon the Indians of that region a salutary impression, which it is to be hoped will prevent the recurrence of similar scenes.”

On the 25th of October, 1832, General Macomb

transmitted to General Atkinson the following letter from the Secretary of War.

Department of War, Oct. 24th, 1832.

SIR—The return of the President to the seat of government, enables me to communicate to you his sentiments in relation to the operations and result of the campaign, recently conducted under your orders, against the hostile Indians; and it is with great pleasure I have received his instructions to inform you that he appreciates the difficulties you had to encounter, and that he has been highly gratified at the termination of your arduous and responsible duties. Great privations and embarrassments necessarily attend such a warfare, and particularly in the difficult country occupied by the enemy. The arrangements which led to the defeat of the Indians were adopted with judgment and pursued with decision, and the result was honourable to yourself, and to the officers and men acting under your orders.

I will thank you to communicate to the forces that served with you, both regulars and militia, the feelings of the President upon this occasion. I have the honour to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

LEWIS CASS.

Gen. H. Atkinson, Jefferson Barracks, Missouri.

Mr. Cass, in the report referred to above, makes some remarks on this war, and on the character of the Indian nations generally, which show that he had fathomed the Indian character, and was quite *au fait* in regard to it. He says:—

“The hostilities recently commenced by the Sauk and Fox Indians, may be traced to causes which have been for some time in operation, and which left little doubt upon the minds of those acquainted with the savage character, that they were determined to commit some aggression upon the frontier. The confederated tribes of the Sacs and Foxes have

been long distinguished for their daring spirit of adventure and for their restless and reckless disposition. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, one of these tribes made a desperate attempt to seize the post of Detroit; and during a period of forty years, subsequent to that effort, they caused great trouble and embarrassment to the French colonial government, which was only terminated by a most formidable military expedition, sent by that enterprising people into the remote regions west of Green Bay. During the last war with Great Britain, this confederacy entered zealously into the contest, and was among the most active and determined of our enemies. After the peace their communication with the Canadian authorities was preserved; and, in every year, large parties of the most influential chiefs and warriors visited Upper Canada, and returned laden with presents. That this continued intercourse kept alive feelings of attachment to a foreign power, and weakened the proper and necessary influence of the United States, is known to every one who has marked the progress of events and conduct of the Indians upon the north-western frontier. The tribes upon the upper Mississippi, particularly the Sacs and Foxes and Winnebagoes, confident in their position and in their natural courage, and being totally ignorant of the vast disproportion between their power and that of the United States, have always been discontented, keeping the frontier in alarm, and continually committing some outrage upon the persons or property of the inhabitants. All this is the result of impulse, and is the necessary and almost inevitable consequence of institutions which make war the great object of life. It is not probable, that any Indian seriously bent upon hostilities, ever stops to calculate the force of the white man, and to estimate the disastrous consequences which we know must be the result. He

is impelled onward in his desperate career, by passions which are fostered and encouraged by the whole frame of society ; and he is, very probably, stimulated by the predictions of some fanatical leader, who promises him glory, victory and scalps.

“ In this state of feeling, and with these incitements to war, the Sacs and Foxes claimed the right of occupying a part of the country on Rock river, even after it had been sold to citizens of the United States, and settled by them. In 1829 and in 1830, serious difficulties resulted from their efforts to establish themselves in that section, and frequent collisions were the consequence. Representations were made to them, and every effort, short of actual hostilities, used by the proper officers, to induce them to abandon their unfounded pretensions, and to confine themselves to their own country on the west side of the Mississippi river.”

Mr. Cass continued to discuss the circumstances at length, and demonstrated what should be the policy of the United States towards the aborigines for the purpose of protecting the better disposed portion of the tribe from their own disorderly numbers.

Mawkish sensibility may, perhaps, attack some of the opinions expressed above ; but those who do so, have always avowed their respect for assertions which, though they might assail them, they can not controvert.

Indian difficulties, during the administration of the war department by General Cass, were rife. Besides the Florida war, in consequence of the extension of the laws of Georgia over the Creeks and Cherokees, those powerful tribes became dissatisfied, and were on the eve of war. General Cass contributed much to their pacification, and has had the good fortune to see his efforts to avert strife fully appreciated by both the white man and the Indian.

In 1836, Mr. Cass left the War Department for



France, to which country he had been appointed by General Jackson, minister. Of all the cabinet of General Jackson, he had remained longest in office, and probably possessed his confidence to a degree unsurpassed by any other man. Evidences of this are numerous, and in another chapter we shall have occasion to refer to a remarkable memento of this character.



## CHAPTER VI.

Letter from General Jackson—Diplomatic Services—Indemnity  
—Eastern Tour—Quintuple Treaty.

On the retirement of General Cass from the War Bureau, he received from the President a letter which fully expressed the confidence between them, and the great satisfaction of General Jackson at the manner in which the new minister had presided over the important department of war.

The mission was an important one, diplomatic negotiations having been interrupted in consequence of the non-payment of the French indemnity for spoliations on our commerce. Under these circumstances, Mr. Cass was ordered by General Jackson to proceed to France and there ascertain what were the feelings of the French government. In October of that year he left New York, and on his arrival in London he learned that a French minister had been appointed to the United States. He therefore immediately proceeded to Paris and established himself there. Scarcely had he been presented when he commenced his efforts to procure the interest on the indemnity of the twenty-five millions of francs, which strangely enough had been retained at the time the principal was paid. In this he was successful, and he thus had the satisfaction of terminating the dispute, which at one time had seemed so perilous to the peace of the litigating powers.

In the great metropolis of Europe, General Cass attracted much attention; a new man from a region of the United States of great interest to France, a dependency of which it had been, not only diplo-

matists, but men of letters, hurried to meet him. That position he maintained.

The interruption of diplomatic intercourse between France and the United States had caused a great accumulation of business in the offices of the American legation, to the dispatch of which, General Cass gave all the resources of his mind, and in 1837 he had brought about such a state of order that he was enabled to make his extensive tour in Italy and the East.

Passing first to Italy, he visited its cities and ruins, whence he proceeded to Messina, in Sicily, Malta, the picturesque and classic Greece, the beautiful islands of the Archipelago, Turkey in Europe, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and the shores of the Euxine. He visited the spots made memorable by the contests of other days, the ruined temples of art, and the places made holy by the early history of Christianity. Fresh from the primeval grandeur of the new world, he saw the great contrast to the scenes among which he had been brought up, and appreciated the lessons taught by their history. One who had stood upon the ruins of the Aztec race which preceded the present Indian of America, would aptly comment on, and in his own mind profit by the teachings of the seat of Troy, Tyre, Sidon, Palmyra in the desert, and Damascus.

General Cass returned to Europe with improved health and vigour, for he had suffered much from his arduous duties in the department of war, and at Paris. His travels, however, had not been only on that account valuable. He had during his tour acquired a perfect knowledge of the defects and faults of the consular system of the United States, and with their commercial and diplomatic interest in that far-off land. The result of this tour communicated to the departments of state and the treasury, in many and important documents, some day must command attention, and be the nucleus around which will be

formed a new theory of trade and intercourse with the half-civilized and down-trodden nations he visited. No American who visited Paris while General Cass was the representative of the United States, will fail to remember the courtesy and delicacy of the envoy. His house was always open to American citizens, and he became proverbial for kindness and hospitality. His expenses during his mission far exceeded his salary, and could only have been met by the possession of an ample private fortune, which long toil and far-seeing prudence had enabled General Cass to accumulate. At the same time, that his expenditures were liberal, all vain ostentation was avoided, and he was unanimously acknowledged as the worthy representative of a great and free people.

Kindly received by Louis Philippe, who at that time was in character and disposition far different from what he became during the few years immediately previous to the destruction of his throne and dynasty, General Cass was admitted almost to the fire-side of the *ménage* of the king of the French. His observations were founded on the most democratic interpretation of the scenes and things he witnessed. It has become the fashion since the deposition of Louis Philippe to decry the tone and character of this work, which was published in the Democratic Review, but those who do so are persons who have never read it, and are ignorant of its tone and context. It will bear the most rigid scrutiny, and is a masterly sketch of Louis Philippe as he was, and of the social condition of France at that day. The title of this essay, "France, its King, Court, and Government," deserves serious attention, in spite of all that has occurred since in France. Among other literary papers he published in this country, was one upon the French tribunals of justice, which contained much information interesting to an American, and in which the author ex-

pressed his decided condemnation of the system of the English common law, looking upon it as a code originating in feudal and almost semi-barbarous times, and utterly unsuited to our condition and institutions. Since that day, the majority of the intelligent men of the age, and all of those who labour, have become converts to this opinion, which ultimately is destined to force reform and drive to honest lives those who live by fraud and chicanery.

The interests of the United States perhaps never were more faithfully attended to than by Mr. Cass while in France. Many minor difficulties were satisfactorily adjusted, and the reputation of American diplomacy greatly exalted. During this time, permission was obtained for a commission of young American officers of cavalry and artillery to attend the military schools of France, and the concession was immediately made available. This, done at the instance of Governor Cass, has been most important, and its effects may be traced in every contest of the present Mexican war, where the tactics and strategic knowledge of the American army has been conspicuous.

In 1841, a serious matter arose, and a plan was formed, which, had it not been frustrated in the germ, must have placed the United States either in the predicament of base submission to outrage or embroiled them in a war with all the naval powers of Europe. The tenacity with which the British government adheres to its plans has become a fixed and notorious fact, and its pretensions to the supremacy and control of the seas, which since the days of Van Tromp had been the cause of so much bloodshed, were now advanced again under a new form. The war against the United States in 1812, which began for the defence of sailors' rights, had brought into the field thousands of men who never saw the ocean, and caused large armies to penetrate the North American forests, were lost on its ex-

perience; and under the pretence of putting an end to the African slave-trade, a treaty was formed, by virtue of which the men-of-war of Great Britain were authorized to search and seize all other vessels they might please to consider engaged in this traffic. The plan was specious; its ostensible object was to seize participators in what the laws of all Christian states had declared piracy, and to succour suffering humanity. This treaty was fortunately, however, suffered to transpire before its ratification, though it had actually been signed by the representatives of England, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. The character of these governments was such as to induce suspicion. It was little likely that Great Britain, which at that time was transporting negroes as apprentices for seven years to colonies, where the average duration of labourers' lives is five, which forcibly enlisted captured Africans in her military service, and oppressed all those within her power, that France, which had slave-holding colonies and waged a war of extermination in Africa, that Russia with its millions of serfs, and the two other powers, in which freedom had never existed, were in earnest in their professed regard towards the rights of African nations. Closer inquiry unfolded the nefarious design to General Cass, and in a masterly pamphlet, which was immediately translated into German and French, he held up the scheme to public infamy. This gave to his name great celebrity, and, eloquently written, his work commanded universal attention. In this treaty, the moving power was Great Britain, which would have alone profited by it directly, and therefore had offered to the other powers inducements of various kinds to secure their consent. So anxious were the prime movers of this scheme to array the strength of Europe against the United States, if they should resist, that in case of the ratification of the treaty, Prussia, which had not at that time a single armed

vessel, was to be transformed by diplomatic jugglery and the present of an armed marine, selected from the worn-out vessels in the British or French sea-ports, into a naval power.

There had always been a great jealousy in France especially of the English superiority at sea, and this feeling was fully aroused. The journals and populace began to declaim against this and all other schemes, and the treaty was, in consequence of the withdrawal of France, never ratified by Russia, Prussia, or Austria, which had been the dupes or tools of England.

Previous however to this, General Cass had written a formal protest to M. Guizot against the treaty, and concluded thus :

“As soon as I can receive despatches from the United States, in answer to my communications, I shall be enabled to declare to you either that my conduct has been approved by the President, or that my mission is terminated.”

The President of the United States had however approved of his course, and a power greater than his, that of the people, ratified the conduct of their ambassador, and every heart in the nation beat high when the following memorable passage was read :

“But the subject assumes another aspect, when they [the American people] are told by one of the parties that their vessels are to be forcibly entered and examined, in order to carry into effect these stipulations. Certainly the American government does not believe that the high powers, contracting parties to this treaty, have any wish to compel the United States, by force, to adapt their measures to its provisions or to adopt its stipulations. They have too much confidence in their sense of justice to fear any such result ; and they will see with pleasure the prompt disavowal made by yourself, sir, in the name of your country, at the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies, of any intentions of this na-



ture. But were it otherwise, and were it possible they might be deceived in this confident expectation, that would not alter in one tittle their course of action. Their duty would be the same, and the same would be their determination to fulfil it. 'They would prepare themselves, with apprehension indeed, but without dismay—with regret, but with firmness—for one of those desperate struggles which have sometimes occurred in the history of the world, but where a just cause and the favour of providence have given strength to comparative weakness and enabled it to break down the pride of power.'

M. Guizot replied in the amicable tone, that France had no evil intentions against the United States, and, as stated above, the treaty, worthless without the co-operation of France, failed.

The strongest evidence of the important services rendered by General Cass in the frustration of this scheme, was the unmitigated abuse heaped on him by the British press: whig, tory, radical and conservative, all forgot their many points of difficulty and difference, to censure one who in so tender a point as the supremacy of the seas, had injured the national susceptibility. This however was to be expected, but it became a matter of surprise that in the United States a party was found which censured the minister for thus protecting the national honour. Able men were found in this clique, and strange things were said and done, which now are forgotten, while the value of Governor Cass's services are distinctly appreciated.

The administration of Mr. Van Buren passed away, and when the difficulties between Great Britain and the United States in relation to the north-eastern frontier began, the late distinguished Lord Ashburton came to the United States as ambassador extraordinary. As an appendix to the treaty negotiated between him and Mr. Webster, was a clause binding the United States to co-operate in striking



down all their own efforts to secure the freedom of the seas. What the inducement to do this was, has never been explained, nor has the world been able to understand what Africa and the slave-trade had to do with the north-eastern boundary.

In a despatch of Governor Cass to the State department, written September 17th, 1842, occurs the following passage:

“It is unnecessary to push these considerations further; and in carrying them thus far, I have found the task an unpleasant one. Nothing but justice to myself could have induced me to do it. I could not clearly explain my position here without recapitulation. My protest of 13th February, distinctly asserted that the United States would resist the pretension of England to search our vessels. I avowed, at the same time, that this was but my personal declaration, liable to be confirmed or disavowed by my government. I now find a treaty has been concluded between Great Britain and the United States, which provides for the co-operation of the latter in efforts to abolish the slave-trade, but which contains no renunciation by the former of the extraordinary pretensions, resulting, as she said, from the exigencies of these very efforts; and which pretension I felt it to be my duty to denounce to the French government. In all this, I presume to offer no further judgment than as I am personally affected by the course of the proceedings, and I feel they have placed me in a false position, whence I can escape but by returning home with the least possible delay. I trust, therefore, that the President will have felt no hesitation in granting me the permission which I asked for.”

He obtained permission to return, and in two months was making preparations to revisit the United States.

Previous to the departure of Mr. Cass, on his eastern tour, he became involved in a controversy

in relation to the unfortunate Florida war, produced by some reflections General Clinch, then of the army, had made on Mr. Cass, in his testimony before the court of inquiry, assembled at Frederick, Maryland, in 1837, to investigate the difficulties between Generals Scott and Gaines. The following indignant reply written at Paris, best explains itself and the conduct of Mr. Cass while Secretary at War.

“A friend has sent me a short extract from the evidence, recently given before the military court at Frederick, by General Clinch, together with copies of some letters presented by him. In his testimony, General Clinch charges me with neglecting to make adequate preparations for the defence of Florida, upon his representations, during the progress of the difficulties with the Seminole Indians, and for some time after the commencement of hostilities.

“The failure of a campaign is an old subject for crimination and recrimination. In all ages and nations it has been fertile in disputes, sometimes confined to the officers themselves, and sometimes extending to the administration of the government. Knowing that while in the department of war, I anxiously endeavoured to fulfil the duty which the troubles with the Seminoles imposed upon the government, and satisfied, on as dispassionate a review as a person can be expected to take in a matter which so nearly concerns him, that that duty was faithfully performed, I am not willing to be subject to the imputation which General Clinch has so cavalierly cast upon me. If the course of events in Florida, whether attributable to imbecility, to misfortune, or to circumstances beyond control, may seem to the military commanders to require a propitiatory sacrifice, I shall most assuredly not submit to receive upon my head their maledictions without an appeal to the justice of my countrymen. That appeal I am now led to make; but, in the performance of this task, it is not my object to assail

any one. I carry on no Carthaginian warfare, and shall confine myself to repelling a serious imputation laid upon me. I beg that it may be recollected that I am far from home, and that I am destitute of many documents essential to a full investigation of the statement of General Clinch. I have no papers upon the subject excepting those already alluded to—the two pamphlets of documents published by order of congress in the session of 1835 and 1836, and for which I am indebted to the same friend, and the defence of General Scott, published in the National Intelligencer. For all else, I must rely upon my memory; but I trust I shall commit no important error. I am sure I shall commit no intentional one.

“An examination of the general course of operations in Florida does not come within the scope of inquiry which I propose to myself. It is enough, upon this point, to say that each of the commanding generals serving in that country after the commencement of hostilities, had *carte blanche* as to men, and means, and plans. Their measures were left to their own discretion; and they were authorized to call from the neighbouring states such force as they might judge adequate to the attainment of the objects committed to them; and the various military departments were directed to provide and furnish all the supplies demanded. It follows, of course, that the government was not responsible for results. They did what every wise government should do in such a juncture. They sanctioned the full employment of all the means judged necessary by those upon whom was to devolve the conduct of the war. The main reliance was necessarily upon the militia. The small amount of our regular army, its dispersed condition, and the numerous points it is called upon to maintain, rendered it impracticable to carry on operations by its means alone; and, added to these considerations, there were, during a

part of the Seminole campaign, strong reasons, which all will appreciate, having reference to our foreign relations, which rendered it inexpedient to withdraw all the troops from the Atlantic and the south-western frontiers.

“After the incipient measures, the actual and only responsibility of the government was in the selection of the officers to command. Upon this point I have nothing to say. I would not utter a word of reproach against any of the gallant men who have served in Florida. I would not, if I could, tarnish a single laurel gathered in other and happier fields. The difficulties they had to encounter were great, and in some points unexpected. And I believe that the general conduct of our officers and soldiers, during this trying warfare, was worthy of the best period in our military annals. Of the military service and claims of General Scott, few have a higher estimate than I have, and no person has heard me utter a sentiment of disrespect towards him. Nor shall I reproach myself for any part which I took in his selection for the command. Success is not always a true test of merit, nor the want of it of incapacity. When General Scott took the command the season of operations was short. Every thing was to collect, to combine, to organize. I saw his difficulties then, and I can still better appreciate them now.

“I may be permitted to say, however, that his plan of operations did not seem to me well adapted to the nature of the country and the habits of the enemy; and this fact is known to some of the persons officially connected with me in the war department. The opinion of the president upon this subject was still stronger, and is, of course, entitled to much more weight than mine. I recollect perfectly his views, when the letter of General Scott, disclosing his plan, was read to him. But any change by the authority of the government, would have been a

hazardous experiment. General Scott was upon the spot, with the best means of information, and with all the intelligence and experience necessary to devise and to execute. To have overruled him would have been to assume a most fearful responsibility, and to direct the details of a campaign in an Indian country at the distance of a thousand miles.

“I observe in General Scott’s defence a quotation from the testimony of Captain Thruston, a most intelligent officer, by which it appears that the first impression upon his mind was unfavourable to the contemplated plan, but that subsequent experience had corrected this opinion. Not having had the advantage enjoyed by Captain Thruston, of a personal knowledge of the course of operations in Florida, it will not, I trust, be imputed to any unjust prejudice, that I participated in the opinion of an officer who is held in high esteem by General Scott, and that I retained that opinion, not having seen any sufficient reason for changing it. I did not see how a combined operation against such an enemy as the Indians, here to-day and gone to-morrow, and whose presence is seldom known but by their assaults, could be carried on simultaneously from three points so distant as Volusia, Fort Drane and Tampa Bay, with any reasonable hope of a co-operation, which would bring the enemy to action, and at the same time prevent his escape. I did not think that when these masses were brought to a point — when the net was drawn — that the game would be caught. I am free, however, to confess that I have now doubts whether any other plan would have succeeded better at that time, and within the short space remaining for the service of the militia, and for the season of operations; and as neither of the columns was attacked, no positive injury resulted from the division. The enemy was sought and could not be found.

“But to the main point of this appeal. General

Clinch was asked by the court, 'What in your opinion prevented the subjection of the Seminole Indians in the campaign conducted by General Scott, in Florida, in 1836?'

"To this General Clinch answers in substance, that it was owing to the neglect of the head of the war department in not having made more adequate preparations in 1835, and early in 1836. In other words, because there were not troops enough in Florida to prevent the Indians from commencing hostilities, therefore the campaign to reduce them was unsuccessful. I leave to the court itself and to General Clinch the task of reconciling this answer with the question itself, and the objects of the inquiry. The causes of the Indian hostilities, or the measures taken by the government to prevent them previously to the assumption of the command by General Scott, were not subjects before the court. They were questions of public policy, properly cognizable by congress alone, and which had more than once engaged the attention of that body. But between them and the nature of the military operations there was no just connection; and whether there were in the country, before the war, ten men or ten thousand, was a question having no relation to the duties of the court or the conduct of General Scott.

"But General Clinch goes still further; quite far enough indeed to disclose that his feelings were so much excited, as to weaken very much his perceptions of what he owed to the court, to himself, and to me. He says, 'when at last the honourable secretary awoke from his dreams of political preferment, and turned his attention,' &c. And this General Clinch says, as a witness, under the sanction of an oath. He undertakes to dive into the recesses of the human heart, not as a matter of speculation, but of assertion; and to pronounce on the witness' stand, not only that I neglected my duty,



but upon the motives which influenced me. Whether in the alleged neglect, or in the motives assigned, he is right, I shall leave to our common country to decide. I may be allowed, however, to say, that I trust this paper will be read by some, and by some who enjoy the confidence of their country, who will exonerate me from the charge of overweening ambition. I am sure General Clinch, in his cooler moments, will be satisfied that he has done me wrong. I do not know him personally, but those who do, speak of him as a man of high honour. I saw in a newspaper, a short time since, an account of a dinner given, I think, to General Clinch in Florida. An address made by him upon that occasion, discloses undoubtedly the wrongs which he supposes he has received at my hands, and the feelings which this sentiment has inspired. He attributed to me his being superseded in command, and to the president the return of his commission, which he had tendered, accompanied with the hope he would continue in service. He evidently supposed that I had purposely injured him, and that the mark of favour he received was without my participation, or against my consent. I owe to General Clinch no explanation. A morbid sensibility, or some other motive not more worthy of tolerance, has led him to mistake his own claims and situation, and to become the vehicle of unjust imputations. But as this subject has excited much discussion, and connects itself with the purpose of this statement, I think it right to allude briefly to the causes which led to the change of command.

“Two reasons produced this measure. The occurrences in Florida in the month of December, 1835, information of which reached Washington in January, 1836, led to the conviction, that measures upon a more enlarged scale had become necessary, and at the same time reports were received, indicating that the Creeks had manifested a determination to



join the Seminoles in hostilities. As two series of operations, under different officers, against enemies near enough to co-operate, and with the same habits, feelings, and objects, were to be avoided, if practicable, and as the amount of force to be called into service might be such as to justify the states furnishing troops, in sending into the field major-generals with their requisitions, it was obviously necessary to vest the principal command in an officer of the highest rank in our service. It was very desirable to have an officer of established character and experience, particularly in a duty involving such a heavy responsibility in its expenditures; and not to leave the command to fluctuate, as general officers of the militia might be called into or retire from service. General Clinch was a brevet brigadier-general, and therefore liable to be superseded by a major-general of the militia.

“But there was a still stronger reason for this measure. It will be recollected that the disaster which befel Major Dade, and the exposed condition of Florida, painfully excited the public mind, particularly in the southern states. Spontaneous movements were made in that quarter for raising troops, and the patriotism of the country called into service many corps, before the state of affairs could be known at Washington. The government was required by public opinion, as well as by the higher obligation of duty, to take the most immediate and efficient measures for the suppression of hostilities. General Clinch was isolated in the heart of Florida. In fact, his true position was necessarily unknown, for events were every moment changing, and the aspect of affairs becoming worse. His communications might at any moment have been intercepted, himself remain ignorant of the measures of the government, and they of his situation and designs. General Scott was in Washington. No time would be lost in giving him the necessary instructions, and

his route would lead him through South Carolina and Georgia, whence most of the force had to be drawn. While a despatch was travelling to General Clinch, General Scott could be in the southern country, organizing his force and plans. And besides, such a despatch might have failed or been intercepted, and then in what condition would the country have been! and to what just censure would the government have been exposed? And even should the necessary authority reach General Clinch, much time must be lost in returning upon the route with his communications. He could not leave his command: affairs were too critical. And it must be obvious, that the arrangements for such a campaign as was contemplated, could not be made without the presence and personal co-operation of the officer destined to command. The remedy for all this was obvious. And was the government to be deterred from adopting it, because General Clinch might choose to consider it a reflection upon him! There were much higher considerations involved in this affair than General Clinch seems to appreciate. He never had the slightest reason to consider himself injured. A just sensitiveness is an honourable feeling in a military man; but if carried too far it degenerates into mortified vanity. All governments have at all times assumed and exercised the right of changing their commanding officers at pleasure; and especially so when the sphere of operations is enlarged.

“I trust I have said enough to show that this measure was not intended to cast, nor did it cast, the slightest reflection upon General Clinch. As to the selection of a successor, with every just allowance for General Clinch, it may be safely said that he had won his way to this command by high and honourable services.

“With respect to the return of General Clinch’s commission, I have only to say, that I proposed the

measure to the president, by whom it was cordially approved; as was also the assignment of General Scott to the command.

“I see that General Scott, in his defence, appreciates the excited feelings of General Clinch, and finds it necessary to discredit one of the answers of the latter, and to trace his erroneous judgment to the species of hallucination under which he appears to labour. It seems that General Clinch has been asked whether the operations of General Gaines had interfered with the projects and arrangements of General Scott. The answer of General Clinch was in the negative, and the solution of this answer by General Scott is given in the following remark, in the defence of the latter; “Under this ruling idea, the witness, General Clinch, could see nothing but the imputed errors of the war department.” Indeed! and is this the judgment of General Scott, upon the state of mind of the principal witness who appears to arraign the proceedings of the executive? I need not add to this rebuke: far more severe than any thing I have said, or desire to say.

“General Scott likewise adds his conviction that ‘the repeated calls and wise admonitions’ of General Clinch were neglected. This point I shall examine by and by; and if it is not shown that the precautions taken to prevent the commission of hostilities by the Seminoles were greater than have ever been adopted, when the strength of the enemy is taken into view, since the discovery of the continent, I will confess that I have read our history to little purpose.

“One act of voluntary justice General Scott has done to the war department; and I appreciate it the more, as it stands out in solitary relief. He says, ‘I do not mean to intimate, Mr. President, that any time was lost by the war department in putting me in motion, after the news of Clinch’s affair of December 31, which preceded at Washington the account of Major Dade’s melancholy fate on the 28th.’ And

yet the concession is not much to make. The slightest attention to the dates, as recorded in the adjutant-general's report of February 9, 1836, published by order of congress, will show that the action of the department was not less prompt upon that occasion than upon all others.

“ Unofficial information of General Clinch's action reached Washington on the 17th of January; and on the same day a plan of operations was devised, and the necessary instructions given to General Eustis for its execution, to provide, as far as seemed necessary, for the vigorous prosecution of the war. The measures will be stated in the sequel. But three days later, to wit: on the 20th, reports were received that the Creeks meditated hostilities; and it was therefore deemed necessary, as already stated, to enlarge the sphere of operations, and to call General Scott to the command; and this was done, and detailed instructions prepared and delivered to General Scott on the next day. So much for the general's willingness to spare any intimation of an unnecessary delay upon this occasion. If it were necessary to allude to the matter at all, would it not have been more just, more noble, more in consonance, I may add, with the character of General Scott, for him to have said, plainly and explicitly, that never were more prompt or decisive measures taken than upon that occasion—measures, whose discussion and consideration, as General Scott must well remember, extended far into the night, and broke upon his rest, as well as upon mine?

“ Rumours of Indian disturbances are matters of frequent occurrence. Sometimes these have been followed by hostilities, but more frequently they have proved unfounded. It is obviously impracticable to keep a superior force to the Indians upon every point of our extended and exposed frontier; and were troops collected upon every rumour, the country would be subjected to enormous expense, and

the army and militia to perpetual fatigue. It is the duty of the government then, to act prudently, as well as promptly, upon these occasions; and while efficient measures are adopted where they appear necessary, to withhold them where they do not, and to preserve in these measures a just proportion to the strength of the Indians, and the probability of their hostile designs.

“What was the amount of the white population of Florida in 1835, I have not the means of ascertaining. I suppose, however, that it exceeded 30,000. It is necessary to keep this fact in view while looking at the course of events; because each part of our frontier must be expected to supply a considerable proportion of the force at any time required to repel sudden aggression of the Indians. If I have made a reasonable approximation towards the population of Florida, it will be found that no one has ever estimated the whole number of the Seminoles at more than one-sixth of this population, and that the official reports in the archives of the department reduced them to one-tenth. There was then near the theatre of difficulties a permanent force, ready to aid the efforts of the army, and amply sufficient, agreeably to all preceding experience, to restrain or subdue the Indians. Let me ask the frontier inhabitants of the west, from one end of the great valley of the Mississippi to the other—those who are now in contact with the Indians, and those who have purchased security, by years of wars and sufferings—whether they do not think the government would at all times have discharged its duties towards them, by making arrangements for more than one regular soldier for each warrior within striking distance, and among a white population outnumbering the Indians at least six to one, and probably ten to one? and yet this was done in Florida. Our settlements would never have crossed the Alleghany, if our forefathers had found it neces-

sary to prosecute Indian wars upon a larger scale than this.

“A treaty had been formed with the Seminole Indians, providing for their removal west of the Mississippi; and from the time which had elapsed, and the reluctance manifested by the Indians to remove, it had become necessary to take measures for carrying the treaty into effect. But all the difficulties anticipated with this tribe, were expected to result from the contemplated movement; and no one looked to hostile demonstrations on the part of the Indians, until and unless they were required to emigrate. I doubt whether there was scarcely a person in Florida who was prepared to hear of any hostile movement by these Indians, before the arrival of the period fixed for their departure. Governor Eaton distinctly stated in a letter to me, that their hostilities were entirely unexpected at that time by the people of Florida; and he informed me that the same sentiment had been communicated to the department by the secretary of the territory. The whole correspondence of General Clinch, until a very short period preceding the commencement of actual hostilities, indicates the same opinion. I mention the circumstance to show that the government had a right to suppose that General Clinch had ample time to collect all his force, and to anticipate the Indians, should he become satisfied of their hostile designs.

“An important element in this inquiry is the amount of the Seminole population. Captain Thurston, I observe, estimates them in his testimony at 5,000, and I have never heard a higher estimate put upon their numbers. Lieutenant Harris, a very intelligent officer, charged with the duty of providing and distributing the articles stipulated by the treaty to be given to the Indians, and well acquainted with them, estimated them in a report to the war department as not exceeding 3,000, including negroes,



of which 1,600 were females. This was the latest report upon the subject, and derived value from the fact, that as certain articles were to be distributed to each Seminole, and as Lieutenant Harris had this duty to perform, it was obviously proper for him to use his best exertions to ascertain the full number, in order to avoid all complaints at the distribution, as it was obviously the policy of these Indians not to diminish in their report their actual number.

“General Thompson, the Indian agent, a most respectable citizen and valuable officer, known to many as a representative in congress from Georgia, in a letter to the commissary-general of subsistence, of August 29, 1835, says: ‘I have resorted to all practicable means of information to ascertain, with a probable approach to precision, the actual number of the Seminole people, and I am induced to believe it very little exceeds 3,000.’

“General Scott, in one of his reports, after his campaign, stated that there had never been 500 Indian warriors collected together at one time, in Florida. I quote from memory, but I cannot be deceived in the fact. The President supposed their whole force did not exceed 500. Previous circumstances had given to him very favourable opportunities of forming a correct opinion on this subject. It will also be recollected, that no one expected the whole of the Indian force would be opposed to us. A considerable party was desirous of emigrating; and it has often, perhaps I may say almost always, happened, in our later Indian wars, that, on the occurrence of hostilities with any of the tribes within our borders, a division of the tribe has taken place, and the seceding party has either remained neutral or joined us; and in the case of the Seminoles, a band, I think, of about 500, left their people at the commencement of hostilities, and placed themselves within our lines.

“In the report, already alluded to, of the adjutant-



general, is embodied a report from the commissioner of Indian affairs upon this subject; in which he states, that assuming the estimate of Lieutenant Harris as correct, and supposing the Seminoles equally divided on the question of emigration, there would be 700 Seminole males, children and adults, forming the hostile party. He supposes that not more than one-half of this, to wit, 350 persons, were fit to bear arms; but he adds, that this hostile party may have received accessions from the other party, and also from the Creeks. I believe it has been found that few, if any, of the Creeks joined the Seminoles.

“Under all these circumstances, I thought then, and I yet think, that the estimate of 500 hostile warriors was sufficiently high. I do not answer for the accuracy of this information. I am only answerable for the use which was made of it. It formed the only basis upon which the government could act. I may add, what is known to all, any way conversant with the Indians, that their numbers are generally overrated rather than underrated; and that in almost all the actions we have fought with them, subsequent information has reduced the estimate of the numbers originally given upon vague calculation.

“It will be observed that there were two periods in the progress of the Seminole difficulties anterior to the commencement of actual hostilities: one between the origin of these difficulties, and the pacification, if I may so term it, made by General Clinch, General Thompson, and Lieutenant Harris, with these Indians, in April 1835, when a mutual and apparently satisfactory arrangement was made with them, by which they agree to remove during the succeeding winter, and the government agreed that they might remain till then. The second period intervened between this time and the breaking out of the war.

“It is necessary to keep in view the change of

circumstances induced by this arrangement, though General Clinch has overlooked it in his evidence, as he refers, in proof of the charge he makes of the negligence of the government, to his letter of January, 1835, in which he asked for six additional companies. Now, the state of things existing when this application was made, and subsequent to the above-mentioned arrangement, was totally different, and General Clinch is wrong to refer to it as any step in the series of measures having relation to actual hostilities. The force in Florida in the spring of 1835, was found, by experience, to be enough. It accomplished its object, and led to a mutual arrangement. A person looking at the presentation of this letter, with the others by General Clinch, would suppose that it constituted one of a series of demands made by him, and rejected by the government. He would never dream that it had a relation to a state of things which was terminated peacefully and successfully; and after which the force under General Clinch was, for some months, judged sufficient by him for the protection of the country. While General Clinch supposed the Indians altogether unfavourable to a removal, he estimated the necessary force to control them at twelve companies; but when they had consented to go voluntarily, he considered a less force necessary, as I shall show conclusively by his letters and proceedings.

“In November, 1834, on the receipt of the first authentic intelligence that difficulties might possibly occur with the Seminoles, General Clinch, an officer of experience and of much reputation, was directed to assume the command in Florida, and the necessary instructions were given him for his government.

“In January, 1835, General Clinch asked for six additional companies to strengthen his command, with a view to the removal of the Seminole Indians

‘in the spring,’ say in April or May of that year. His demand was submitted to the President, who decided that four companies should be sent to Florida from Fort Monroe, and that General Clinch should be authorised to order the company at Key West to join him whenever he might think proper. Orders for these purposes were given on the 14th of February, 1835. I will not enter into a consideration of the views which operated to place five, instead of six, companies at the disposal of General Clinch. It may have been error of judgment; but most assuredly neglect, as intimated by himself, and repeated by General Scott, had no part in the matter. When the estimated force of the Indians is taken into view, the just desire of circumscribing the expense as far as prudent, and the material fact that, by the treaty, only about one-third of the Seminoles could be required to remove that ‘spring,’ (say short of two hundred disaffected warriors), the decision of the president will be thought a discreet one. But there is a still better authority, if possible, upon this occasion, in justification of the measures adopted by the government. It is the authority of General Clinch himself. He asked, as the maximum of force which could be wanted, eleven companies, or five hundred and fifty men. He received nine companies, or four hundred and fifty men; and he received, also, power to order the company from Key West to join him, which would make ten companies, or five hundred men. I state what I suppose to be about the average of the companies. Whether more or less is not important for my present purpose, which is to repel the accusation of having neglected General Clinch’s requisitions. These requisitions were for companies.

“Well, then, the force sent to General Clinch carried him through the spring. He made an arrangement with the Indians, which appeared to be satisfactory to them, and was so to the government, and

which quieted the frontier, and induced the general belief that this troublesome matter was over. His force was found sufficient, because his purpose was effected.

“ But General Clinch himself considered a less force than that he named, and even a less force than that placed at his disposal by the government, adequate to the objects he had to attain. He did not call to his aid the company from Key West ; and it is very important in this inquiry to remark, that while General Clinch now accuses the government of neglecting his application for a proper force, during that whole season the company at Key West, placed under his command the preceding February, almost in sight of Florida, and not more than one day’s sail from its shore, was left by him upon that island, and never reached the sphere of his command till the 21st of December. The order authorising General Clinch to call it to his aid, must have reached him the beginning of March. During nine months, then, deducting the few days necessary to communicate his orders to Major Dade, and for that officer to cross over to the main land of Florida, General Clinch considered his force sufficient, or he was guilty of that neglect which he now charges, and, as I trust I have shown, vainly charges, to the government.

“ And what stronger proof can be given of the assertion already made, that the hostile movement of the Indians was unexpected by him, who, of all others, was charged with watching and restraining them, than this failure to employ, for that purpose, all the force placed at his disposal ?

“ But still further : General Clinch, in his letter to the war department, of April 1, 1835, after stating his belief that an arrangement would be made which would quiet the Indians, and be satisfactory to the government, says that, ‘ should the chiefs come to the conclusion to remove quietly, it would be still necessary to keep the present force in Florida.’ The

chiefs did consent to remove quietly, as has been already shown, and the then 'present force' was kept in Florida; and nothing more did General Clinch then demand. In all this is there any evidence of neglect? I leave the question to the great tribunal of public opinion.

"So passed the first period of the Seminole difficulties. I will merely add, upon this branch of the subject, that General Thompson, in a letter of June 3, 1835, some time after the conclusion of the arrangement, reported that Powell had assented to it, and that he had 'no doubt of his sincerity, and as little that the principal difficulty is surmounted.'

"Thus matters remained till the fall, without any intimation from General Clinch that an additional force would be necessary. The first suggestion of this nature was made on the 12th of October, by Lieutenant Harris, I think, in a personal interview at the war department. But as General Clinch had not asked for the increase, it was not judged proper positively to direct it. But he was authorised to call for two more companies; one from Pensacola and one from Mobile, if he thought them necessary; and orders were issued to the commanding officers of those companies to hold themselves in readiness for an immediate movement.

"On the 21st of October, a letter was received from General Clinch, dated on the 9th of that month, 'in which he suggested the propriety of being authorised to call into service 150 mounted volunteers, to aid in the removal of the Indians, and to suppress any difficulties which might occur.' (See the report of the adjutant-general of February 9, 1836.) This report thus states the result:

"'But as this force was required to aid in the removal, and to prevent difficulties which were anticipated, and not to repel hostilities which had commenced, or which were then impending, General Clinch was informed in answer, on the 22d of Octo-

ber, that there was no appropriation authorising the measure, and that the President, under existing circumstances, did not consider that the case came under the constitutional power to call into service additional force for the defence of the country.'

"This was the view of the President respecting his own powers. I am neither responsible for it, nor called upon to defend it. I imagine, however, that every dispassionate man who looks at the facts as they were then known at the seat of government, and at the constitutional powers of the President, will fully approve his decision.

"The report of the adjutant-general continues :

"'But he, (Gen. Clinch,) was authorised to order two more companies, viz. : those at forts Wood and Pike to join, which, with the two companies placed at his disposal on the 15th of October, made four companies of regular troops, in lieu of the mounted men. On the 30th of the same month, orders were given by the navy department to Commodore Dallas, to direct one of the vessels of the squadron to co-operate with General Clinch in his endeavour to effect the removal of the Seminoles.

"'In a letter received on the 31st of October, General Clinch requested that three companies of regular troops might be added to his command. He was apprised, however, by previous orders, that four had already been placed at his disposal.'

"General Clinch has complained that these troops ought to have been sent from the north, rather than from the points whence they were ordered. This was a question for the proper military officers of the department at Washington to decide, having reference to the wants of the service and the position of the troops. The subject was referred to them, and the selection was made of the companies enumerated. One leading reason is obvious. There was still ground to hope that coercive measures might not be necessary. It was, therefore, thought



better to place these additional troops under the orders of General Clinch, at the nearest points to Florida, where they could remain, if not wanted, or whence he could speedily draw them, when necessary, than to order them positively into the country from a great distance. As to the delay in their arrival, I neither know any thing of the cause nor feel the slightest responsibility. There was a fault or a misfortune somewhere, not in giving the necessary directions, but in their subsequent execution. It is not necessary, for my purpose, to inquire where it was. Most assuredly, had proper diligence been used, the companies from Pensacola, Mobile, Lake Ponchartrain, and Key West, could have reached Tampa Bay, before the periods of their actual arrival, as shown in the report of the adjutant-general, to wit, the 27th of November, and the 12th, 25th, 28th, and 31st of December. And it appears conclusively that this delay did not originate in the want of time; for the Key West company, which might have been called into Florida nine months before, did not reach there till the 21st of December, nearly a month after the Pensacola company, which was only placed at General Clinch's disposal on the 15th of October.

“The last measures directed by the government, before the commencement of actual hostilities, are stated in the same report.

““In his communication from St. Augustine, dated the 29th of November, received on the 9th of December, General Clinch reported that, should he find it necessary for the protection of the frontier settlements, he would assume the responsibility of calling out at least 100 mounted men, believing that the measure would be sanctioned by the President and Secretary of War. This approbation was communicated to him on the same day; and, in addition to it, a letter was addressed to the governor of Florida, requesting him to place at the disposal of General

Clinch any militia force which that officer might require. Of this, General Clinch was informed. He was also informed that, at the request of General Hernandez, orders would be given, through the ordnance department, to issue 500 muskets, and the necessary accoutrements, to the militia.'

"Here terminated all the demands of General Clinch for troops, prior to the commencement of hostilities; with this exception, however, that, on the 9th of December, he suggested the expediency of substituting four companies from the north instead of the four ordered from the south, as the latter might not reach the country. But, at the moment when the letter was written, one of these companies had already been two weeks at Tampa Bay, and all of them were there before the letter reached the war department. So that the suggestion was evidently impracticable.

"Now let us slightly review this matter. I pass over the first period in order not to encumber the subject, and because an arrangement was made which for some time seemed to promise permanent tranquillity.

"General Clinch had eight companies with him, and one more within his reach; and these, as has been shown, he deemed sufficient. His next demand was for three more companies, and this was succeeded and met by giving him four. He asked for 150 mounted men, but the President did not feel authorised, in the then state of affairs, to call for them. He then subsequently stated he should ask the governor of Florida for 100 men, if he should find it necessary for the protection of the frontiers. The President, believing that circumstances were then sufficiently menacing to justify this measure, gave his sanction to it; and, in addition, without any demand from General Clinch, he placed the whole militia of the territory, through the governor, at his disposal.

"Now, as a matter of fact, General Clinch had a

far greater force under his command than he ever required. I do not mean that he had collected them together; with that I have no concern. I have only to show that proper measures for that purpose were taken by the war department. And I have shown that these measures ought to have given to General Clinch the full complement of regular troops he asked for. In addition to which he embodied 500 militia; and that force was with him, as stated by the adjutant-general, at the battle of the Wythlacoochee, on the 31st of December, 1835. Why it was not in the engagement has never been satisfactorily explained. I believe General Clinch's personal conduct on that day was beyond all reproach, and never was the honour of the American arms more nobly supported, than by the regular troops. But this most favourable opportunity of terminating the war, by striking a decisive stroke, was lost. The combat was sustained by about 200 regular troops, aided, it is said, by twenty-five or thirty militia. And why was not the whole force in action? A narrow stream like the Wythlacoochee ought not to have prevented American riflemen from crossing upon logs—upon rafts—by swimming their horses—to take part in the struggle, unequally but gallantly maintained by their countrymen within full sight. More especially as there could be no danger from the enemy in crossing, the regular troops covering the banks of the river. If I recollect correctly, the regulars crossed early, and it was some time after they had effected their passage before the action commenced; the duration of the action I have not the means of ascertaining. The enemy was repulsed by 200 men. Who can doubt but that there was force enough, had it been properly directed and employed, to terminate the war at once? If these 500 spectators had been brought into action, and the enemy broken and pursued by the horsemen, the

victory might have been as decisive as any of those gained under happier auspices in the same section of the union. If these troops were prevented by insurmountable obstacles from participating in the contest, General Clinch owed to them a full development of the circumstances. If they were prevented by any less justifiable cause, General Clinch owed to himself, to the regular troops, to justice, and to his country, a plain and unequivocal disclosure of the truth, bear where it might.

“So much for the year 1835. But General Clinch extends his charge against the war department to the year 1836, and continues his accusation of neglect, asserting that a competent force and competent supplies were not provided ‘early’ in that year.

“I suppose it will be conceded that the 8th of January may be fairly said to be ‘early’ in 1836. Well, then, on the 8th of January, authority was given to General Clinch to call for any amount of force he might require, from the states of South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama; and this measure was taken upon the responsibility of the department, and without any application from that officer, and the necessary requests were transmitted to the executives of these states. And on the 10th and 13th of the same month, upon the suggestion of the war department, orders were given for the employment of three revenue cutters, and for the co-operation of Commodore Dallas’s squadron.

“I suppose the 17th of January was ‘early’ in the year 1836. Well, then, upon the 17th of January, fearing, from the intelligence, which every day became worse, that the communication with General Clinch might be intercepted, and he thus prevented from executing the orders of the government, General Eustis, then at Charleston, was directed to proceed to Florida, and to take all necessary measures to keep open the communication

with General Clinch, and to report to him for further instructions. General Eustis was directed to take with him the garrisons at Charleston and Savannah, and such a portion of the South Carolina militia as he might deem necessary. And the governor of that state was requested to supply him with the force.

“I suppose again, that the 21st of January, 1836, was ‘early’ in that year. Well, then, on the previous day, the first intimation reached the department of the unquiet disposition of the Creeks, and of the probability of their joining the Seminoles. It instantly became apparent that much more extensive operations might become necessary than had been contemplated. It was immediately determined to adapt the measures to be taken to this new state of things, and General Scott, with ample powers, was, on the 21st, ordered to take the command in that quarter. It is enough to repeat, that he had unlimited means placed at his disposal.

“I confine myself to the measures taken for the employment of the proper force. This is all for which I feel the slightest responsibility. When a force is directed to any point, the proper military bureaus of the war department make arrangements with or without the conjunction of the officer commanding, for all the *materiel* which can be required. And that officer has, besides, the right to make his requisitions, and, if necessary, to make purchases for every thing he needs. These are details into which no head of the war department can have time to enter, and it is precisely for their execution that the military bureaus are instituted. The adjutant-general states in the report before mentioned: ‘I have not considered it necessary to detail in this report the orders given by the various military bureaus of the war department, to provide the necessary means such as transportation, ordnance and ord-

nance stores, and provisions for the operations in Florida. All the measures in relation to these subjects, which appeared to be necessary, were daily taken.'

"I do not recollect ever to have heard it intimated that General Clinch's operations were crippled for the want of any supplies for the force placed at his disposal by the government. Certainly, if such had been the case, he ought to have represented it, that the proper inquiries might have been instituted, and an adequate remedy applied. Without the adjutant-general's report, it might have been taken for granted, from the absence of all complaint by General Clinch, that there was no failure in the measures of the military bureaus at Washington to proportion his supplies to his force; but the report of that faithful and accurate officer sets the subject at rest.

"I feel I violate no confidence in saying, that there was not a report received of the operations in Florida, from the first apprehension of difficulties, which was not submitted to the President; nor a measure of any importance taken, which was not approved by him. It is well known, that from the practice and organization of our government, the heads of departments are in daily communication with the President, and that all questions of much interest are discussed with him; and to those who know the habits of rigid scrutiny which General Jackson carried with him into public life, I need not say, that no question could be presented to him which he did not carefully and fully consider. In the examination of papers, he was remarkable for the most patient attention; and I will say for him now, in his day of retirement, what I would not have thus publicly said of him in the day of his power, that never have I known a man who brought to every subject quicker power of perception, nor a more intuitive sagacity.



"I do not resort to this authority to shield myself from responsibility under the constitutional prerogative of the president. I feel and acknowledge my own responsibility to the fullest extent, and am prepared to meet it. The measures directed by me became my measures, whether approved or not by the president; but I confess, that the opinion of Andrew Jackson upon these subjects is interesting to me. I need not advert to the reasons which give peculiar value to his views concerning the operations in Florida; to his intimate knowledge of the country and of the Indians, acquired during years of service there, in a military and civil capacity; and to those personal claims to consideration, which will be as undying as the history of our country.

"With these reflections and statements, I leave the charge of General Clinch to the judgment of the American people. If they think that the incapacity, or misfortunes, or dissensions of military commanders are to be visited upon my head, I have only to submit, with as much resignation as may be. But I hope better things from the impartiality of my countrymen. I have received, during a public life of more than thirty years, many favours I neither expected nor merited. I am encouraged to hope that when I ask only rigid justice, I shall not be found a vain suppliant.

"LEWIS CASS.

"*Paris, March 6, 1837.*"

To this letter General Clinch replied, and the whole Florida campaigns were again fought on paper, and enough was elicited to prove satisfactorily the prudence of the secretary. When the Florida war was ultimately terminated by General Worth, it was by operations in accordance with the suggestions of Mr. Cass.

This is the place to refer to a very remarkable letter of General Jackson to Mr. Cass, in which, though

written some months after, he refers to the circumstances described above, and shows how high an estimate was placed upon Mr. Cass's labours by the venerable ex-president.

HERMITAGE, July, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have the pleasure to acknowledge your very friendly letter of the 25th of May last. It reached me in due course of mail; but such were my debility and afflictions, that I have been prevented from replying to it until now; and even now it is with great difficulty that I write. In return for your kind expressions with regard to myself, I have to remark, that I shall ever recollect, my dear general, with great satisfaction, the relations, both private and official, which subsisted between us, during the greater part of my administration. Having full confidence in your abilities and republican principles, I invited you to my cabinet; and I can never forget with what discretion and talents you met those great and delicate questions which were brought before you whilst you presided over the department of war, which entitled you to my thanks, and will be ever recollected with the most lively feelings of friendship by me.

But what has endeared you to every true American, was the noble stand which you took, as our minister at Paris, against the quintuple treaty, and which, by your talents, energy, and fearless responsibility, defeated its ratification by France—a treaty intended by Great Britain to change our international laws, make her mistress of the seas, and destroy the national independence, not only of our country, but of all Europe, and enable her to become the tyrant on every ocean. Had Great Britain obtained the sanction of France to this treaty, (*with the late disgraceful treaty of Washington*—so disreputable to our national character and injurious to our national safety,) then, indeed, we might have

hung our harps upon the willows, and resigned our national independence to Great Britain. But, I repeat, to your talents, energy, and fearless responsibility, we are indebted for the shield thrown over us from the impending danger which the ratification of the quintuple treaty by France would have brought upon us. For this act, the thanks of every true American, and the applause of every true republican, are yours; and for this noble act I tender you my thanks.

I admired the course of Dr. Linn in the Senate, in urging his Oregon bill; and I hope his energy will carry it into a law at the next session of Congress. This will speak to England a language which she will understand—that *we will not submit to be negotiated out of our territorial rights hereafter.*

Receive assurances of my friendship and esteem.

ANDREW JACKSON.

To the Hon. Lewis Cass.

Than this, no compliment can be more distinct and emphatic, or more valuable.

## CHAPTER VII.

Mr. Cass in the United States—Visit to General Jackson—Letters—Course in the Senate—Nomination by the Baltimore Convention—Correspondence, &c.

IN December 1842, General Cass returned to the United States, and it may safely be said, he was received with the warmest tokens of admiration and respect, by citizens of every phase of political opinion. The stand he had occupied in regard to the quintuple treaty evoked the popular enthusiasm, and everywhere he was looked upon as the champion of a free ocean. On his arrival at New York he was catechized in relation to his political opinions. To these questions he replied briefly and succinctly, and avowed his unshaken attachment to the great principles of the Democratic party. No one could with more propriety do so, for he had, during a longer period, perhaps, than any other member of General Jackson's cabinet, except Mr. Van Buren, been linked with him in social and political intercourse. On his route to the west he was everywhere met with popular demonstrations, and at Harrisburg and Columbus, respectively, was met by the governors of the respective states, who escorted him in pomp and pride to the capitals. His greatest triumph, however, was at Detroit, the city which he had conducted from almost infancy, to prosperity and success. The governor, the municipal authorities, and the people, came to meet him and welcome him home. On the 8th of January, the anniversary of the most brilliant victory achieved in the United States since the revolution, a committee of the Demo-

cratic Convention of Indiana, addressed him in relation to political affairs. To these gentlemen he made a full exposition of his ideas, declaring his opposition to a national bank, unfolding the peculiar character and the injurious tendency of such an institution. He expressed himself as an enemy to the plan of distributing the proceeds of the public lands among the states, and the scheme of a protective tariff, declaring "that the revenue should be kept at the lowest points compatible with the performance of constitutional functions." The question of the propriety of the *veto* was then a subject of great discussion, and Mr. Cass expressed himself as decidedly opposed to any alteration of the constitution: he also declared that he would not be a candidate for the Presidency, unless nominated by a full convention of the Democratic party.

On the 4th of July, 1843, General Cass delivered an oration at Fort Wayne, Ind., on the completion of the great canal connecting the lakes with the Ohio, through the Wabash River. In this oration he thus eloquently contrasted the prospects and future history of the United States, with those of the many foreign lands through which he had travelled:

"I have stood upon the plain of Marathon, the battle-field of liberty. It is silent and desolate. Neither Greek nor Persian is there to give life and animation to the scene. It is bounded by sterile hills on one side, and lashed by the eternal waves of the Egean sea on the other. But Greek and Persian were once there, and that decayed spot was alive with hostile armies, who fought the great fight which rescued Greece from the yoke of Persia. And I have stood upon the hill of Zion, the city of Jerusalem, the scene of our Redeemer's sufferings, and crucifixion and ascension. But the sceptre has departed from Judah, and its glory from the capital of Solomon. The Assyrian, the Egyptian, the Greek,

the Roman, the Arab, the Turk, and the Crusaders, have passed over this chief place of Israel and have bereft it of its power and beauty. In those regions of the East where society passed its infancy, it seems to have reached decrepitude. If the associations which the memory of their past glory excites, are powerful, they are melancholy. They are without gratification for the present, and without hope for the future. But here we are in the freshness of youth, and can look forward with rational confidence to ages of progress in all that gives power and pride to man, and dignity to human nature. It is better to look forward to prosperity than back to glory."

During the summer of 1843, General Cass received the letter from General Jackson which has already been referred to and printed. During that year, General Cass remained at his home attending to his business, which, from many years' absence, required his particular care; but in the spring of 1844, in answer to many questions, he wrote a letter on the subject of Texas, in which he avowed himself plainly and distinctly in favour of the annexation to the United States of the sister republic. In May of that year, the regular democratic convention at Baltimore met, and, on the first ballot, Mr. Cass received eighty-three votes, which gradually increased, until, on the seventh, one hundred and twenty-three were cast for him. There is now very little doubt, but that on another vote he would have been selected as the candidate. The convention, however, adjourned, and all parties yielding to the principle of expediency, selected the present incumbent, who, after two ballottings, was declared to have been selected by the convention as the candidate of the democratic party.

An ordinary man so nearly on the point of success, would have felt mortified and wounded. So did not, however, General Cass, who, on the very



day of the reception of the news of the nomination at Detroit, in an eloquent address at a popular assembly, gave his warmest assent to the nomination, and avowed his intention to support it, and do all in his power to secure its success. He consequently accepted the invitation of the great convention at Nashville, Tennessee, in August of that year, and, by that immense body, he was received with the most lavish respect. His address to that convention has been spoken of as a masterpiece of eloquence and statesmanship, worthy of him who had foiled, in the quintuple negotiation, by honest talent and nerve, the efforts of the combined diplomatic chicanery of Europe. The applause by which it was welcomed, and the unanimous assent to its teachings, was the best proof of its merit.

From Nashville, General Cass proceeded to the residence of General Jackson, with whom he passed much time. He may almost be said to have received the last political adieu and teachings of the veteran who had defeated the Indian and British enemies of the nation, and been recognized as the restorer of the great and true principles of the theory of the government of the country.

General Cass, on his return, made a tour through Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan, and everywhere was most enthusiastically received. Everywhere he was acknowledged as the fosterer of the civilization of the west, and representative of its dignity and greatness. His tour has thus eloquently been described—

“But a great change had been effected since first he came among them. The lofty forests which he then traversed were now fruitful fields; the lonely cabins which he protected from the firebrand of the savage were transformed into populous cities; the Indian war-path was converted into the railroad; the harbors upon the lakes and rivers which he first surveyed were now the seats of commerce and of

wealth; and the scattered population which he governed were now a great people. The crowds which attended his progress through those States seemed rather the triumphal procession of a conqueror, than the peaceful attendants of a private citizen."

The election of 1844 is now a matter of history. The majority of every western state except one, and that was Kentucky, the home of the great antagonist of the democratic party, was given for Mr. Polk. Even Kentucky had but a small majority in favour of the whig candidate. No small degree of this success is to be attributed to Mr. Cass, who threw all his personal popularity into the scale of the success of his rival before the nominating committee.

During the winter of 1844-45, Mr. Cass was elected to the senate of the United States, by the people of that unit of the confederacy which he might almost be said to have created. On the 4th of March, 1845, his credentials were presented, and he took his seat. On the first formation of the committees of the Senate, General Cass was nominated unanimously to the high position of chairman of the committee on military affairs, due to him from his high reputation as a soldier, which had been acquired in the field, and not in mere holiday service. This position he declined, nor did he occupy it until it had been for the third time offered him, on the commencement of the present session of congress.

During December, 1845, Mr. Cass, as a member of the military committee, introduced a series of resolutions into the senate, with reference to the national defence, especially in connection with the difficulties with Great Britain in relation to Oregon. The following extract demonstrates that the old leaven which took him twice to the frontier, and prompted him to share in the perils of the battle of the Thames, had not lost its force. He was in favour

of maintaining our rights to their utmost point, and though both parties united in abandoning the pretensions of the nation, the people will remember Mr. Cass as one of those who sought to maintain them to the latest hour. Men who make a study of politics, often differ from those who examine national affairs, only amidst the leisure and intermissions of their ordinary pursuits, and a large portion of the people disapproved of the extinguishment of a little of the nation's pretensions. Be this however as it may, it is now undeniable, that 54° 40' men who talked of "manifest destiny" and expulsion of European influence, were found in each of the great parties.

It was during the month of March, that Mr. Cass delivered his great speech on the Oregon question. One of the largest audiences collected during the winter, and a full senate awaited the expression of the opinions of one, who from long residence abroad and patient study, was admirably calculated to enlighten the people on this most knotty and difficult question. The following paragraphs have been selected as admirably expressing the tone and tenor of his remarks.

"It pains me, sir, to hear allusions to the destruction of this government, and to the dissolution of this confederacy. It pains me, not because they inspire me with any fear, but because we ought to have one unpronounceable word, as the Jews had of old, and that word is *dissolution*. We should reject the feeling from our hearts and its name from our tongues. This cry of "*Wo, wo, to Jerusalem,*" grates harshly upon my ears. Our Jerusalem is neither beleaguered nor in danger. It is yet the city upon a hill; glorious in what it is, still more glorious, by the blessing of God, in what it is to be—a landmark, inviting the nations of the world, struggling upon the stormy ocean of political oppression, to follow us to a haven of safety and of rational liberty.

No English Titus will enter our temple of freedom through a breach in the battlements to bear thence the ark of our Constitution and the book of our law, to take their stations in a triumphal procession in the streets of modern Rome, as trophies of conquest and proofs of submission.

“Many a raven has croaked in my day, but the augury has failed, and the republic has marched onward. Many a crisis has presented itself to the imagination of our political Cassandras, but we have still increased in political prosperity as we have increased in years, and that, too, with an accelerated progress unknown to the history of the world. We have a class of men whose eyes are always upon the future, overlooking the blessings around us, and forever apprehensive of some great political evil, which is to arrest our course, somewhere or other on this side of the millennium. To them we are the image of gold, and silver, and brass, and clay, contrariety in unity, which the first rude blow of misfortune is to strike from its pedestal.

“For my own part, I consider this the strongest government on the face of the earth for good, and the weakest for evil. Strong, because supported by the public opinion of a people inferior to none of the communities of the earth in all that constitutes moral worth and useful knowledge, and who have breathed into their political system the breath of life; and who would destroy it, as they created it, if it were unworthy of them, or failed to fulfil their just expectations.

“And weak for evil, from this very consideration, which would make its follies and its faults the signal of its overthrow. It is the only government in existence which no revolution can subvert. It may be changed, but it provides for its own change, when the public will requires. Plots and insurrections, and the various struggles, by which an oppressed population manifests its sufferings and seeks

the recovery of its rights, have no place here. We have nothing to fear but ourselves."

The conduct of Mr. Cass in this perilous crisis was appreciated by the people. The skilful man who had studied the tone of European governments, and the people who always have an intuitive knowledge of their own rights and interests, had come to the same conclusion. Both the one and the other had learned that a people lose nothing by insisting on their rights, and gain nothing by withdrawing from their just pretensions.

The history of General Cass now draws towards a close, and it is here necessary to state, that he sustained, with unflinching energy, the propriety of hostilities with Mexico, and advocated the adoption of the most rigorous measures to bring the neighbouring republic to a knowledge of what was due to the world and to the United States. Here, too, the people coincided with him, and even the great champion of the opposition at one time wished "that he too might kill a Mexican."

All know the tenor of the three million bill, the object of which was to place at the disposal of the president the sum of three millions of dollars, to enable him to conclude a peace with the Mexican government. The propriety of this bill was undeniable, so that no one pretended to assail it. A senator, however, from that section of the United States, which has been generally under the control of a party which has always opposed the vindication of *national* rights, introduced into the senate as an amendment to the bill, what has been known as the Wilmot Proviso; a movement which originated in the house of representatives on a resolution of Mr. Wilmot, a member of Congress, from one of the most obscure districts of Pennsylvania, and provided that no territory obtained by conquest or otherwise from Mexico, should be annexed to the United States, except with the understanding that



slavery was to be abolished and prohibited. On this occasion, General Cass, also, delivered a most eloquent and emphatic speech, and voted against the amendment.

During this congress also, the tariff of 1846, and the independent treasury, became subjects of debate. On these occasions, General Cass rendered to the Democratic party services certainly not inferior to those of the persons who declared themselves the peculiar vindicators of these doctrines. As a token of admiration of his services on this occasion, General Cass on the expiration of Congress, was invited to partake of a public entertainment at Albany, by the Democratic members of both houses of the legislature of New York. The honour, however, was declined.

Amid all his political engagements, he had found time to prepare an address, which he delivered before the literary societies of Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, his native state, at the annual commencement of that institution. The societies afterwards prepared an elegant gold-headed cane, with appropriate devices, which was presented to him in Washington, on the 4th of March, 1848.

On the meeting of the present congress, the attitude Mr. Benton, the previous chairman of the committee of military affairs, had chosen to assume against more than one of the most distinguished officers of the army, having rendered it manifestly improper that he should continue longer at its head, Mr. Cass was selected as its chairman. The best summary of his opinions on the great questions of war and annexation, is contained in the following reply to an address of Mr. Mangum, delivered early in the session.

“Now, with respect to the progress of the war, it is said that General Scott is going on from town to town, and from city to city, conquering all before him. I am very glad to hear it. I hope that the



commanding general will continue to go on in this way. If he does so, I have no doubt he will conquer Mexican obstinacy, and thus conquer a peace. I have already expressed my opinions with regard to the war in Mexico, and have nothing to say on the subject now, except to tell the Senator from North Carolina, what I had the honour to say to the Senator from South Carolina, that the adoption of any resolutions in this Senate with regard to any danger—if danger there be—in the progress of this war, would be but as the idle wind. You might as well stand by the cataract of Niagara, and say to its waters “flow not,” as to the American people “annex not territory,” if they choose to annex it. It is the refusal of the Mexican people to do us justice that prolongs this war. It is that which operates on the public mind, and leads the Senator from North Carolina to apprehend a state of things which he fears, but which, for myself, I do not anticipate. Let me say, Mr. President, that it takes a great deal to kill this country. We have had an alarming crisis almost every year as long as I can recollect. I came on the public stage as a spectator before Mr. Jefferson was elected. That was a crisis. Then came the embargo crisis—the crisis of the non-intercourse—of the war—of the bank—of the tariff—of the removal of the deposits—and a score of others. But we have outlived them all, and advanced in all the elements of power and prosperity with a rapidity heretofore unknown in the history of nations. If we should swallow Mexico to-morrow, I do not believe it would kill us. The Senator from North Carolina and myself may not live to see it, but I am by no means satisfied that the day will not come in which the whole of the vast country around us will form one of the most magnificent empires that the world has yet seen—glorious in its prosperity, and still more glorious in the establishment and perpetu-

ation of the principles of free government and the blessings which they bring with them."

In answer to a letter from Mr. Nicholson, in December 1847, General Cass published an address, in which he expressed himself opposed to the Wilmot Proviso, because he thought all legislation in relation to and restrictions upon territories ill-advised. He declared, that he thought all domestic institutions should be left under their own control, and proclaimed explicitly that he thought congress was as utterly disqualified from legislation in relation to slavery, as to define the relative duties of husband and wife, and the obligation of landlord and tenant. He concluded with the following passage—

"The 'Wilmot Proviso' seeks to take from its legitimate tribunal a question of domestic policy, having no relation to the Union, as such, and to transfer it to another, created by the people for a special purpose, and foreign to the subject matter involved in the issue. By going back to our true principles, we go back to the road of peace and safety. Leave to the people, who will be affected by this question, to adjust it upon their own responsibility and in their own manner, and we shall render another tribute to the original principles of our government, and furnish another guaranty for its permanence and prosperity."

The foregoing pages have recounted briefly the services of General Cass. He had become one of the popular favourites, and been nominated as President by the state conventions of Ohio and Michigan, and he had been highly complimented by that of Pennsylvania, held 4th March, 1848, at Harrisburg. With this prestige, he was nominated as the candidate of the democratic party of the United States, by the convention at Baltimore, of May 28, 1848, and, after several ballotings, received the unanimous vote. His antagonists were Mr. Dallas and Mr. Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, illustrious in

the political history of the nation, and distinguished in the annals of the democratic party, and others, who from minor and personal grounds had been suggested by their friends as candidates for the high dignity of chief magistrate of the nation.

On these events, comment is now gratuitous. A thinking people will reflect on the events of Mr. Cass's long career, and, whether he receive their suffrage or not, no one will be more earnest in wishes for their success and prosperity.

The following correspondence on the subject of the nomination of Mr. Cass will explain his promises to the American people, and the history of his past career proves that he will fulfil them—

BALTIMORE, May 23, 1848.

Dear Sir :—You are doubtless apprised of the fact that a National Convention of republican delegates from the various portions of the Union, assembled in this city on the 22d inst., for the purpose of selecting candidates for the two highest executive offices of the United States. We are gratified in having it in our power to inform you that the convention, with great unanimity, agreed to present your name to the country for the office of President, and requested us to communicate to you this nomination, and solicit your acceptance. In performing this duty, which we do with great pleasure, it is proper that the resolutions adopted by the convention, and containing the principles upon which they believe the government ought to be administered, should be laid before you. These constitute a platform broad enough for all true democrats to stand upon, and narrow enough to exclude all those who may be opposed to the great principles of the democratic party. That these principles will meet with your cordial assent and support, and be illustrated in your administration, if called to this high office by your country, we do not for a moment doubt;

but feel assured, that while you exercise forbearance with firmness, you will not fail to exert your faculties to maintain the principles and just compromises of the constitution, in a spirit of moderation and brotherly love, so vitally essential to the perpetuity of the Union, and the prosperity and happiness of our common country. We offer you our sincere congratulations upon this distinguished mark of the public confidence, and are, with sentiments of high esteem and regard, dear sir,

—Your friends and obedient servants,

A. STEVENSON,

*Pres't. of the National Convention.*

Robt. P. Dunlap, Me.; J. H. Steele, N. H.; Chester W. Chapin, Mass.; Ira Davis, Vt.; B. B. Thurston, R. I.; Isaac Toucy, Conn.; G. D. Wall, N. J.; J. G. Jones, Penn.; A. R. Ramsey, Ark.; G. M. Bowers, Mo.; C. J. McDonald, Ga.; J. A. Winston, Ala.; J. C. McGehee, Fa.; Powhatan Ellis, Miss.; R. W. English, Ill.; C. G. English, Ia.; J. Larwell, Ohio; Thos. J. Rusk, Texas; Austin E. Whig, Mich.; Solo. W. Downs, La.; Thos. Martin, Tenn.; L. Saunders, Ky.; James Clarke, Iowa; S. B. Davis, Del.; B. C. Howard, Md.; Ed. P. Scott, Va.; W. N. Edwards, N. C.; J. M. Commander, S. C.

To Gen. LEWIS CASS, Washington City.

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WASHINGTON, May 30, 1848.

Gentlemen:—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th instant, announcing to me that I have been nominated by the Convention of the Democratic party, its candidate for the office of President of the United States, at the approaching election.

While I accept, with deep gratitude, this distinguished honour—and distinguished indeed it is—I do so with a fearful apprehension of the responsibility it may eventually bring with it, and with a

profound conviction that it is the kind confidence of my fellow citizens, far more than any merit of my own, which has placed me thus prominently before the American people. And fortunate shall I be, if this confidence should find, in the events of the future, a better justification than is furnished by those of the past.

I have carefully read the resolutions of the Democratic National Convention, laying down the platform of our political faith, and I adhere to them as firmly, as I approve them cordially. And while thus adhering to them, I shall do so with a sacred regard to "the principles and compromises of the constitution," and with an earnest desire for their maintenance "in a spirit of moderation and brotherly love, so vitally essential to the perpetuity of the Union, and the prosperity and happiness of our common country;"—a feeling which has made us what we are, and which, in humble reliance upon Providence, we may hope is but the beginning of what we are to be. If called upon hereafter to render an account of my stewardship, in the great trust you desire to commit to me, should I be able to show that I had truly redeemed the pledge thus publicly given, and had adhered to the principles of the democratic party with as much fidelity and success as have generally marked the administration of the eminent men to whom that party has hitherto confided the chief executive authority of the government, I could prefer no higher claim to the favourable consideration of the country, nor to the impartial commendation of history.

This letter, gentlemen, closes my profession of political faith. Receiving my first appointment from that pure patriot and great expounder of American democracy, Mr. Jefferson, more than forty years ago, the intervening period of my life has been almost wholly passed in the service of my

country, and has been marked by many vicissitudes, and attended with many trying circumstances, both in peace and war. If my conduct in these situations, and the opinions I have been called upon to form and express, from time to time, in relation to all the great party topics of the day, do not furnish a clear exposition of my views respecting them, and at the same time a sufficient pledge of my faithful adherence to their practical application, whenever and wherever I may be required to act, anything further I might now say, would be mere delusion, unworthy of myself, and justly offensive to the great party in whose name you are now acting.

My immediate predecessor in the nomination by the democratic party, who has since established so many claims to the regard and confidence of his country, when announcing, four years ago, his acceptance of a similar honour, announced also his determination not to be a candidate for re-election. Coinciding with him in his views, so well expressed, and so faithfully carried out, I beg leave to say, that no circumstances that can possibly arise, would induce me again to permit my name to be brought forward in connexion with the Chief Magistracy of our country. My inclination and my sense of duty equally dictate this course.

No party, gentlemen, had ever higher motives for exertion, than has the great Democratic party of the United States. With an abiding confidence in the rectitude of our principles, with an unshaken reliance upon the energy and wisdom of public opinion, and with the success which has crowned the administration of the government, when committed to its keeping, (and it has been so committed during more than three-fourths of its existence,) what has been done, is at once the reward of past exertion and the motive of future, and, at the same time, a guarantee of the accomplishment of what



we have to do. We cannot conceal from ourselves that there is a powerful party in the country, differing from us in regard to many fundamental principles of our government, and opposed to us in their practical application, which will strive as zealously as we shall, to secure the ascendancy of their principles, by securing the election of their candidate in the coming contest. That party is composed of our fellow-citizens, as deeply interested in the prosperity of our common country as we can be, and seeking as earnestly as we are to promote and perpetuate it.

We shall soon present to the world the sublime spectacle of the election of a Chief Magistrate by twenty millions of people, without a single serious resistance to the laws, or the sacrifice of the life of one human being—and this, too, in the absence of all force but the moral force of our institutions; and if we should add to all this, an example of mutual respect for the motives of the contending parties, so that the contest might be carried on with that firmness and energy which accompany deep conviction, and with as little personal asperity as political divisions permit, we should do more for the great cause of human freedom throughout the world, than by any other tribute we could render to its value.

We have a government founded by the will of all, responsible to the power of all, and administered for the good of all. The very first article in the Democratic creed teaches that the people are competent to govern themselves: it is, indeed, rather an axiom than an article of political faith. From the days of General Hamilton to our days, the party opposed to us—of whose principles he was the great exponent, if not the founder—while it has changed its name, has preserved essentially its identity of character; and the doubt he enter-

tained and taught of the capacity of man for self-government, has exerted a marked influence upon its action and opinions. Here is the very starting-point of the difference between the two great parties which divide our country. All other differences are but subordinate and auxiliary to this, and may, in fact, be resolved into it. Looking with doubt upon the issue of self-government, one party is prone to think the public authority should be strengthened, and to fear any change, lest that change might weaken the necessary force of the government; while the other, strong in its convictions of the intelligence and virtue of the people, believes that original power is safer than delegated, and that the solution of the great problem of good government consists in governing with the least force, and leaving individual action as free from restraint as is compatible with the preservation of the social system, thereby securing to each all the freedom which is not essential to the well-being of the whole.

As a party, we ought not to mistake the signs of the times; but should bear in mind, that this is an age of progress—of advancement in all the elements of intellectual power, and in the opinions of the world. The general government should assume no powers. It should exercise none which have not been clearly granted by the parties to the federal compact. We ought to construe the constitution strictly, according to the received and sound principles of the Jefferson school. But while rash experiments should be deprecated, if the government is stationary in its principles of action, and refuses to accommodate its measures, within its constitutional sphere—cautiously indeed, but wisely and cheerfully—to the advancing sentiments and necessities of the age, it will find its moral force impaired, and the public will determine to do what the public

authority itself should readily do, when the indications of popular sentiments are clear, and clearly expressed.

With great respect, gentlemen, I have the honour to be your obedient servant,

LEWIS CASS.

Hon. A. Stevenson,  
President of the Democratic Convention,  
and Vice Presidents of the same.

A few days after, Mr. Cass resigned his seat in the Senate, and after the lapse of a few days proceeded homeward. At Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and everywhere, he was received most enthusiastically by all of that portion of the people, the representatives of which had recognized him as their candidate. A few months will determine whether he will occupy the Presidential chair: at all events, he is worthy to do so.

The following were the resolutions of the convention of the Democratic party, and contain its creed. The career of the person it selected as a type is an assurance that they will be maintained.

Resolved, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

Resolved, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world, as the great moral element in a form of government, springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and practice of federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

Resolved, therefore, That, entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this union, through their delegates assembled in a general convention of the States, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow citizens for the rectitude of their

intentions, renew and re-assert, before the American people, the declarations of principles avowed by them when, on a former occasion, in general convention, they presented their candidates for the popular suffrages :

1. That the federal government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the constitution, and the grants of power shown therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government ; and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

2. That the constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

3. That the constitution does not confer authority upon the federal government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local internal improvements, or other State purposes ; nor would such assumption be just and expedient.

4. That justice and sound policy forbid the federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country ; that every citizen, and every section of the country, has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

5. That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practise the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government, and for the gradual but certain extinction of the debt created by the prosecution of a just and necessary war, after peaceful relations shall have been restored.

6. That congress has no power to charter a national bank ; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and the will of the people ; and that the result of Democratic legislation, in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country, have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties, their soundness, safety and utility in all business pursuits.

7. That congress has no power under the constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the constitution; that all efforts of the abolitionists or others, made to induce congress to interfere with the question of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

8. That the separation of the moneys of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.

9. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the constitution, which make ours the land of liberty, and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the present privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us, ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute books.

Resolved, That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy, and repugnant to the constitution.

Resolved, That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities, amply sufficient to guard the public interest, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

Resolved, That the war with Mexico, provoked on her part, by years of insult and injury, was commenced by her army crossing the Rio Grande, attacking the Ame-

rican troops, and invading our sister State of Texas—and that upon all the principles of patriotism and the laws of nations, it is a just and necessary war on our part, in which every American citizen should have shown himself on the side of his country, and neither morally nor physically, by word or deed, have given “aid and comfort to the enemy.”

Resolved, That we would be rejoiced at the assurances of a peace with Mexico, founded on the just principles of indemnity for the past and security for the future; but that while the ratification of the liberal treaty offered to Mexico remains in doubt, it is the duty of the country to sustain the administration in every measure necessary to provide for the vigorous prosecution of the war, should that treaty be rejected.

Resolved, That the officers and soldiers who have carried the arms of their country into Mexico, have crowned it with imperishable glory. Their unconquerable courage, their daring enterprise, their unfaltering perseverance and fortitude when assailed on all sides by innumerable foes, and that more formidable enemy—the diseases of the climate—exalt their devoted patriotism into the highest heroism, and give them a right to the profound gratitude of their country and the admiration of the world.

Resolved, That the Democratic National Convention of the thirty States composing the American Republic, tender their fraternal congratulations to the National Convention of the Republic of France, now assembled as the free suffrage representatives of the sovereignty of thirty-five millions of Republicans, to establish governments on those eternal principles of equal right, for which *their* LAFAYETTE and *our* WASHINGTON fought, side by side, in the struggle for our own National Independence; and we would especially convey to them and the whole people of France, our earnest wishes for the consolidation of their Liberties, through the wisdom that shall guide their councils, on the basis of a Democratic Constitution, not derived from the grants or concessions of kings or dynasties, but originating from the only true source of political power recognized in the States of this Union; the inherent and inalienable right of the people, in their sovereign capacity, to make and to amend their forms of government in such manner as the welfare of the community may require.

Resolved, That in the recent development of this grand political truth, of the sovereignty of the people and their



capacity and power of self-government, which is prostrating thrones and erecting republics on the ruins of despotism in the old world, we feel that a high and sacred duty is devolved with increased responsibility upon the Democratic party of this country, as the party of the *people*, to sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, equality and fraternity, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the constitution which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded through the American Minister at Paris to the National Convention of the Republic of France.

Resolved, That the fruits of the great political triumph of 1844, which elected James K. Polk and George M. Dallas President and Vice President of the United States, have fulfilled the hopes of the Democracy of the Union; in defeating the declared purposes of their opponents to create a National Bank, in preventing the corrupt and unconstitutional distribution of the land proceeds, from the common treasury of the Union, for local purposes; in protecting the currency and the labour of the country from the ruinous fluctuations, and guarding the money of the people for the use of the people, by the establishment of the Constitutional Treasury; in the noble impulse given to the cause of Free Trade, by the repeal of the Tariff of 1842, and the creation of the more equal, honest and productive Tariff of 1846; and, that, in our opinion, it would be a fatal error to weaken the bands of political organization by which these great reforms have been achieved,—and risk them in the hands of their known adversaries, with whatever delusive appeals they may solicit our surrender of that vigilance, which is the only safeguard of liberty.

Resolved, That the confidence of the Democracy of the Union, in the principles, capacity, firmness and integrity of James K. Polk, manifested by his nomination and election in 1844, has been signally justified by the strictness of his adherence to sound Democratic doctrines, by the purity of purpose, the energy and ability which have characterized his administration in all our affairs at home and abroad; that we tender to him our cordial congratulations

upon the brilliant success which has hitherto crowned his patriotic efforts, and assure him, in advance, that at the expiration of his presidential term he will carry with him to his retirement, the esteem, respect and admiration of a grateful country.

Resolved, That this Convention hereby present to the people of the United States, LEWIS CASS, of Michigan, as the candidate of the Democratic party for the office of President, and WILLIAM O. BUTLER, of Kentucky, as the candidate of the Democratic party for the office of Vice President of the United States.

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On the reception of the news of the recent revolution of France, the greatest enthusiasm was excited in the United States, and public meetings were held in all the principal cities of the Union. To a large and enthusiastic assemblage at Washington, March 28, 1848, General Cass delivered an address, from which we make the following extracts :

I came here, fellow-citizens, to hear and to feel, rather than to talk—not so much to address you, as to mingle my congratulations with yours, upon the stirring and striking events, which are now passing in Europe, and the sound of which is borne upon the wings of the wind to every civilized country of the earth. I yield to abler and to younger speakers the task of expressing such sentiments, as become the subject and the occasion; but I yield in no jot nor tittle to any one in the interest they excite, and the hopes they inspire. The shouts of liberty reach us from the Old World: let us send back their echoes from the New. Let us be grateful to Him, who holds in his hand the fate of nations, and who guides their purposes by wiser purposes of his own; let us be grateful to Him, who is breaking the bond of the oppressed, and setting the captive free.

Throughout a considerable part of Europe man is awakening to a conviction of his rights, and to a knowledge of his strength; and, with the feelings which these inspire, comes the determination to assert, and, if necessary, to employ the other. The abuses of centuries are giving way before the progress of the age, and the foundations of government are investigated with a zeal not to be rebuked, and with a stern purpose, which nothing will satisfy but the truth. The great tide of freedom is rolling

onwards from the shores of Calabria to the English channel, and institutions, originating in barbarous ages and sanctioned by time and habit, but which have sacrificed the happiness of the many to the power of the few, are giving way before it with as little resistance as regret. I hope, for one, that the chalk-bound cliffs of England will not stay the progress of this salutary reform, but that it will reach her palaces and her hovels, correcting the great moral and physical evils—which now press upon her people.

Fellow-citizens, I do not deny that there is much to be commended in the institutions of England, social and political. I do not deny that she has contributed her full share to the intellectual progress of the age. I do not deny that there is a great deal of moral worth in that country, and many high traits of character well worthy of imitation. But the practical administration of her government is entitled to no such commendation. It is arbitrary and oppressive—administered by a chosen class for their own benefit, and not for the masses. It sits like an incubus upon the great body of the people in two-thirds of the home empire; and in the other third—Ireland—it has pressed down the people into a state of humiliation, elsewhere unknown in Christendom. Its right of primogeniture, its feudal privileges, and its aristocratic tendencies, have created such an inequality of property, that scenes of distress—aye, of distress on the largest scale—are passing there in a manner unknown in modern history. It is very well to talk of the blessings of the English law—of trial by jury and the habeas corpus. These are good things for those who can enjoy them. But bread is a better thing for a starving family than trial by jury, and a house is a better protection than a habeas corpus. Probably on the face of the globe there is no such squalid misery as in the hovels of Ireland; nor was the spirit of man ever pressed down, as there, by the overpowering evils which surround him. Ireland is scarcely the country of Irishmen. It is the country of England, which the sons of Ireland inhabit, and where they exist rather than live. And this oppression sends them to every region of the globe; and wherever they go, they carry with them an instinctive hatred of tyranny and the love of liberty. They have made most valuable accessions to our population, and in peace and war have fulfilled all the duties of American citizens, as zealously as those born in our country. From the heights of Abraham, watered with the blood of Montgomery, to the very

last battle fought in Mexico, where is the field crowned by the valor and exertions of the American troops, in which the blood of Ireland has not mingled with our own, and in which her native, but our adopted, sons have not nobly rallied around the standard of their chosen home?

England is in that condition, which requires but one firm effort on the part of her people to extend those principles of free government which nominally belong to the country, but which practically are confined to the few; to extend them to the great body of the people, and thus to create a government for the benefit of all, directed by all, and accountable to all.

The fiscal oppression of England is of itself a phenomenon. The sum of two hundred and fifty millions of dollars is every year ground out of the people for general purposes, besides perhaps an equal sum for the maintenance of the clergy, for the support of the poor, and for a vast variety of other local objects. More than one-half of these two hundred and fifty millions of dollars is applied to the payment of the interest of the national debt, a large portion of which was contracted by Pitt, in his odious efforts to check the spirit of liberty on the continent of Europe. This system seems to be approaching its crisis; for, this year, in a time of profound peace, the revenues are insufficient to meet the expenditures. Where is the true-hearted American who does not long for the termination of such a state of things?

One of the strangest events, in this day of great events, is the origin of these movements in favour of liberty upon the continent of Europe. Whence came they? From the Eternal City—from the head of the Catholic religion—the successor of St. Peter. Immediately on his elevation to the Pontificate, the Pope avowed his attachment to free principles, and from the Vatican went out the decree which is now spreading through the earth. The Pontiff, who holds the keys of St. Peter, has found a key to unlock the recesses of the human heart. His moral courage was but the more tried by the difficulties of his position. The abuses of the government were the work of ages, and had entered into all the habits of life and the ramifications of society; and he was surrounded by despotic governments, jealous of the first aspirations of liberty, and maintaining their sway by powerful armies. The Austrian, too, with his Pandours and his Croats from the banks of the Danube, had descended the ridges of the Alps, and had spread himself over the sunny plains of Italy. Almost in sight of the dome of St. Peter's, he

watched, with interest and with many a threatening word, the progress of the Pope. But the work went on. Naples is in a state of revolution; Tuscany and Sardinia in a state of reform; and France of apparently peaceful progress in the new career opened to her.

I should not have said one word to you to-night, my fellow-citizens, had I not been induced to do so by a particular circumstance. A few years since, when in France, I published in the Democratic Review some remarks upon the condition of that country. Among these were allusions to the *emeutes*, which were often breaking out in the streets of Paris, and occasioning consternation and alarm to the quiet citizens, who were disturbed in their occupations by the din of arms, and sometimes by bloody conflicts in the midst of their city; and all this without the least beneficial result, or any expectation of it. They were not revolutions; they were riots and insurrections. I communicated also the facts, as disclosed by the witnesses on the trials of persons indicted for these offences. It was shown conclusively, that the persons engaged in them belonged to secret societies sworn to abolish the Christian religion, to destroy all the rights of property, and to overturn, in fact, social order. I was describing more particularly what in France were technically called the *days of May*, 1839. The sentiments of a journal, which favoured these proceedings, may be judged by the terms it employs when speaking of the United States, whose government it calls "a ridiculous republic, and a moneyed aristocracy." The following quotations mark its spirit and objects:

"It is, without doubt, beautiful to be an atheist; but that is not enough," &c.

"It ought to say, all that is connected with religious worship is contrary to our progress; while, at the same time, whenever people are religious they talk nonsense."

"Our Saviour is called the democratic son of Mary."

My condemnation of such principles has recently been construed into a condemnation of the principles of revolutions brought about by the people seeking the redress of their grievances. There never was a feeling of my heart, a word of my mouth, nor an act of my life, which would give any man a right to call in question my sympathy with the struggling masses, or the sincerity of my hopes for their success; and I defy any man to quote from my remarks upon the condition of France, one single sentence inconsistent with the progress of rational liberty.

What I thought, and what I foresaw, are shown by the

following extract, alluding to the condition of Europe, and to the changes that were in progress :

“ But in Europe, this last great element of public happiness is beyond the reach of the governments, and it is therefore the more necessary that they should use all the means within their power to improve the condition of the poorer classes of society, to extend the advantages of education to all, to diminish the public expenses, to put a stop to oppressions, and to introduce the most impartial equality before the law, and into public employments. In this way, and in this alone, can the political effervescence which is everywhere visible in Europe, be safely guided, when it cannot be wholly controlled. There is a forward movement in opinion, which can neither be misunderstood nor put down. It has produced great changes, and will produce still greater. Its operation is a question of time only ; but the extent and intensity of that operation depend essentially upon the wisdom and justice of the governments, and upon the forbearance of the people. Happy will it be for both, if the changes demanded by the present state of society, and called for by the thinking class of the community, are made in time to prevent revolutions, instead of being the consequences of them.”

Is there one American in this broad land, who will not reciprocate these sentiments ?

Unfortunately for the late dynasty, these liberal views were not adopted by it ; and if its principles did not undergo a change, certainly many of its most obnoxious measures were adopted and pursued after that period, and have given to its government a character for insincerity and love of power, which, if they were before charged upon it, it had not acquired by such a course of conduct as has since been adopted, and which left the French people no choice between tame submission and armed resistance.

Some peculiar characteristics have marked the progress of the recent events in France. The capital is surrounded by a wall of circumvallation upwards of thirty miles in extent. Detached forts strengthen the approaches, and smaller defensive works are placed at regular intervals along the whole wall. It is an immense fortification, one of the most extensive in the world. It completely commands the city of Paris, and is garnished with an immense train of artillery, ready for any operations the government might direct. In this fortification, and in the city itself, when these troubles broke out, the government had collected a great army of one hundred thousand men,



among the best disciplined troops in the world, and collected for the very purpose of putting down all opposition to the course it was proposed to adopt. And what was the result of this great political foresight, as it seemed to be? The fortifications did not fire a gun; the resistance in the streets did not produce as much bloodshed as an ordinary *emeute*; and the troops fraternized with the people, and went over to them in the hour of trial. The colossal power which Louis Philippe had been building up for eighteen years, disappeared like a dream. His government was dissolved, his dynasty terminated, his family expelled from the kingdom, and the people took possession of the power that belonged to them. And what then? Any more blood? Any more violence? Any of those reactions of feeling, which have too often marked the progress of revolutions, and have rendered the word itself unacceptable to timid ears? There has been nothing of all this; and let us hope there will not be. A provisional government has been organized, composed of able and eminent men, some of them known through the civilized world, and all of them well fitted for their position, and with characters which furnish the best guaranty for their patriotic conduct. They have summoned a national assembly to convene in a short time, in order to prepare a constitution for the French people; and, in the mean time, all violence and resistance have ceased. The equality of all French citizens before the law has been acknowledged; universal suffrage has been established; and the great principles of liberty have been recognized as freely as they are recognized in our own country. And a public vessel has actually been offered to one of the King's sons, to enable him to go where he pleased. What a beautiful illustration are all these proceedings of the progress of a healthful public opinion in France; and what a beautiful example for the other nations of Europe, who feel the same evils, and may resort to the same remedy!

The people of this country are no propagandists. They permit no other nation to interfere with them in their own internal concerns, and they seek to interfere with no other in theirs. They proclaimed, on the 4th of July, 1776, that it is the right of every people to abolish its government, and to institute a new one—"laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." But every people must judge for themselves, as well whether they will continue an existing government, as whether they will change it; and if so, what

form they will substitute. We know the priceless value of liberty; we know it suits our condition, and that it has given us a greater measure of political happiness than any nation ever enjoyed before us. But, while we feel all this, and wish that every other people were as well fitted for the enjoyment of liberty as we are, still these convictions and these wishes have no influence upon our political conduct;—we hold all other nations as our fathers did—*enemies in war; in peace, friends.*

But there is no just principle of national comity, which forbids us to indulge and express a sympathy with struggling millions, who, feeling their rights and their oppressions, are rising in their strength to recover their long-lost freedom. We ought neither to shut our ears to the welcome sound of their successful efforts, nor our hearts to the emotions which these are so well calculated to inspire. France does not want men nor means to defend herself, or to maintain the position she has assumed. She has sons enough to protect her and her rights, and all they have is at her disposal. But the sympathy of twenty millions of people is a present fit to send across the Atlantic—and of a people, too, who have preceded France in the great career into which she has just entered, and who can tell her that it is beset by no trials or difficulties, which time and experience may not easily overcome. It will make her joy the greater for what she has done, and her confidence the firmer for what she has to do. Abandoning, then, the question of party, let us all come up to this great work. Let neither Whig nor Democrat be concerned in it. It is the right and the duty of American citizens, and all other distinctions should be swallowed up in that sacred term. Let us do this; and since the return of Columbus to Spain, no higher tribute will have been paid to the advancing opinions of the age, and no nobler present made by the New World to the Old.





MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM O. BUTLER.

SKETCH  
OF THE  
PUBLIC SERVICES  
OF  
MAJOR-GENERAL W. O. BUTLER.





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# L I F E

OF

## MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER.

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### CHAPTER I.

Family History—Volunteers as Private—Appointed in the Army—River Raisin—Prisoner—Promotion—March South—Gen. Call's Letter.

MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM O. BUTLER, of the United States volunteer service, is a member of a family of soldiers. His grandfather, Thomas Butler, was born April 6, 1720, at the town of Kilkenny in Ireland, where also he was married in 1742. Three of his five sons were born in Ireland, but the other two, Pierce, the father of William O. Butler, and Edward the junior of all, were natives of Pennsylvania. Every one of these men, and all the sons of each, with the exception of one individual, distinguished as a judge, were soldiers.

Francis P. Blair, Esq., in a sketch of General Butler, recently published, states that Richard, the eldest, was a lieutenant-colonel of the celebrated rifle corps of Morgan, and attributes to him much of the peculiar celebrity, that famous body of men acquired from the high discipline which separated it from every other corps of the same arm of the revolutionary army. On the promotion of Colonel Morgan to a higher grade, Lieutenant-Colonel Butler was also promoted, and as its colonel led his old regiment in the famous *coup de main* of Wayne on Stony Point. In 1790, he was appointed a major-general, and November 4th of the next year, fell in the bloody and

unfortunate but gallant contest of St. Clair with the Indians. His death had a peculiar and melancholy interest, so that a group of wax figures representing the scene, attracted crowds in almost every city of the Union.

The second son, William, rose to the rank of colonel in the revolutionary war, throughout which he served. When the army of the confederacy was so reduced, that many of the officers were without commands, they organized themselves into a corps and offered to serve as privates. The scheme was patriotic, but would have introduced great difficulties in the discipline of the army, and General Washington, though he complimented their devotion, was too prudent to accept their offer. Of all the family he was the pride, and is said to have been one of the coolest men in the army in defence, and most headlong in attack.

The third son, Thomas, in 1776, was a student of law in the office of Judge Wilson, but at the call of his country, abandoned his studies, and entered the army as a subaltern. He soon became a captain, and at the end of the war held that grade. He was at every battle in the middle States, and at Brandywine his services were so brilliant that General Washington, through his aid, Colonel Hamilton, thanked him at the head of the army for rallying a body of retreating troops, and giving the enemy a heavy fire. At Monmouth he received the same compliment from General Wayne, for defending a defile attacked by the British, while the regiment of his brother, Colonel Richard Butler, made good its retreat. Disbanded at the end of the war, he married, and devoted himself to agricultural pursuits until 1791, when he commanded a battalion of the division of his elder brother, Richard. Though his leg was broken by a rifle ball, he led his regiment in the last forlorn charge of General St. Clair, and was with difficulty taken from the field by his

brother Edward. He was retained in service in 1792 as a major, and two years after became a lieutenant-colonel. During the whiskey rebellion, he commanded the post of fort Fayette, and with great difficulty preserved it from the insurgents, who, doubtless, from their superiority of numbers would have captured it, had they not been deterred by their respect for the veteran commandant.

Major-General Wilkinson seems to have had the faculty of embroiling himself with all who really were soldiers. Evidences of this are his disputes with Scott and Gaines and others, in each of which he was manifestly and clearly proven at fault. Colonel Edward Butler also attracted his attention, and in 1803 was arrested by him and sent from fort Adams on the Mississippi to Maryland, and tried on a series of charges. Of all of these, Colonel Butler was acquitted except of one, which alleged that *he wore his hair*, the old soldier adhering most pertinaciously to the queue of the revolutionary army, instead of adopting the *State prison* crop, then declared, by orders, the uniform of the army. Wilkinson being in command of New Orleans, whither Colonel Butler was ordered, to assume command of the city, during the next month again arrested him. Before however the sentence of the court, which met in July of the next year, transpired, Colonel Butler died, and the sentence has never become known. The bitter persecution of this veteran soldier, inspired Washington Irving with the pungent satire of Wilkinson, whose character he described under the name of General Van Poppenburg in Knickerbocker's History of New York.

Percival Butler, the fourth son, and father of General William O. Butler, was born at Carlisle, in Pennsylvania; he was a soldier, having entered the service at the age of eighteen, and fought at Monmouth and Yorktown. He shared in the hardships of Valley Forge, and participated in all the scenes

of the war in the middle States, under General Washington, except for a brief time, when he was attached to Lafayette's light corps. At the ratification of peace, he was in the south with the Pennsylvania brigade. In 1784, he emigrated to Kentucky, and when the war of 1812 began he was alive. He had been Adjutant-General of Kentucky, and in that capacity served in one of the many expeditions sent out against the enemy.

Edward Butler entered the army at the close of the war, and was a captain at the defeat of St. Clair, where one of his brothers died, and where he had the proud satisfaction of preserving the life of another. He was ultimately the Adjutant-General of Wayne's victorious army.

Of this band of brothers, four left sons, all of whom, with one exception, as stated above, entered the military service of the United States, and all maintained their father's fame unsullied. Mr. Blair thus speaks of the younger members of the family, in his memoir of the present General, recently published in *Graham's Magazine*:

"1st. General Richard Butler's son, William, died a lieutenant in the navy, early in the last war. His son, Captain James Butler, was at the head of the Pittsburg Blues, which company he commanded in the campaigns of the Northwest, and was particularly distinguished in the battle of Massissinnawa.

"2d. Colonel William Butler, also of the revolutionary army, had two sons, one died in the navy, the other a subaltern in Wayne's army. He was in the battle with the Indians in 1794.

"3d. Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Butler, of the old stock, had three sons, the eldest a judge. The second, Colonel Robert Butler, was at the head of General Jackson's staff throughout the last war. The third, William E. Butler, also served in the army of General Jackson.

"4th. Percival Butler, captain in the revolution-



ary war, and Adjutant-General of Kentucky during the last war, had four sons: first, Thomas, who was a captain, and aid to General Jackson at New Orleans. Next, General William O. Butler, the subject of this notice. Third, Richard, who was assistant adjutant-general in the campaigns of the war of 1812. Percival Butler, the youngest son, now a distinguished lawyer, was not of an age to bear arms in the last war. Of this second generation of the Butlers, there are nine certainly, and probably more, engaged in the present war."

Such was the family of the Butlers, essentially men of action, and happily blending the peculiarities of the land of their fathers and of our own, to which, by birth or at the price of their blood, they possessed an unimpeachable right. In all the contests of the United States, whether with a savage or civilized foe, the family have been conspicuous, and cast around the name of the present Major General, if not a claim on his countrymen, at least something as near to that, as the nature of our democratic institutions will admit of. When the last war began, William O. Butler had just concluded his course of studies at Transylvania University, where he had been graduated with distinction. When the news of the surrender of Hull's army reached Kentucky, the whole State was aroused, and among the first to volunteer was our hero. Abandoning at once all the allurements of society, he enlisted at Lexington as a private in the company of Captain Hart, thus entering the service in which he was destined to occupy the highest rank in the humblest. Before the army commenced its march, he was elected a corporal, and in this grade marched to the relief of fort Wayne, then invested by the hostile Indians. The Kentucky volunteers, it is well known, drove the enemy before them to their own towns on the Wabash, and thence returned to a winter cantonment on the Miami of the lakes

At this place he was offered a commission in the second regiment United States infantry which he declined, unless allowed to remain on the frontier. His wish was acceded to, and he was appointed instead of the second, into the seventeenth, foot, then a portion of General Winchester's army. Nothing could exceed the uncomfortable condition and privation of the volunteers in their winter quarters, where they waited in vain for supplies and reinforcements; at last, wearied out, the Kentucky volunteers of Colonels Lewis, Allen, and Major Madison, and three companies, the seventeenth infantry advanced to attack the allied British and Indian army which defended Detroit. This was incumbent on the volunteers from the anticipations formed of them at home, and the confident hope that the disgrace of Hull's surrender would be wiped out. General Winchester gave them distinct orders to go no further than Presque Isle until they should be reinforced by the main body. Having reached Presque Isle they heard that a party of British and Indians had occupied Frenchtown, which they determined at once to attack. The right wing of the attacking force was commanded by Colonel Allen; Major Graves had the centre, and Madison the left. When near the town the column deployed and advanced under a heavy fire of howitzers and musketry. Graves and Madison, by a rapid charge, drove the enemy from their shelter in the houses, and behind the picket-work, forcing them into the woods. Allen, in his part of the field, was equally fortunate, but was forced to fight his enemy again in the wood. Here too he was successful.

The enemy attempted to retake their position by a charge, but failed and fled. They were pursued several miles, and finally dispersed. The American loss was twelve killed and forty-five wounded. Of the Indians alone, twelve were left dead on the field.

In this battle, ensign Butler distinguished himself; advancing to the attack with the wing commanded by Major Madison, a strong party of Indians were discovered advancing to seize a fence and hold it as a cover. Calling to a few men around him he ran directly to oppose them, and succeeded in occupying and maintaining the position against a far more numerous party. During the action he was yet again remarkable, having brought off and saved a wounded man, who, otherwise, during the alternations of the day, must have fallen into the hands of the enemy. This occurred on the 18th of January, and the volunteers immediately encamped and waited for General Winchester, who with the rest of the army arrived on the 20th. The whole force now assembled was nearly eight hundred strong.

On the 22d of January, Winchester had placed within his pickets six hundred men, and kept the rest encamped in an open field on the other side of the river. On the morning of that day, Proctor, Split Log and Round Head, at the head of a combined force, British and Indian of fifteen hundred men, attacked the position with a heavy fire of musketry and six cannon, against the latter of which, the pickets were no defence. The body of men beyond the river were at once overpowered and attempted to cross the river. Two companies within the fort discovering the distress of their comrades sallied to their relief, but with them were forced to retreat. All of these men were either killed or forced to surrender on the British promise of protection. The other wing (the left) made a steady defence and beat back three assaults of the British forty-first foot, which lost thirty-five killed and one hundred wounded. Great efforts had been made, but in vain, by Winchester and Lewis, to rally the right wing which had been beyond the river, but unfortunately in this attempt both of

these officers were captured. The army yet continued to fight and repulsed every assault of the enemy until eleven o'clock, when finding resistance in vain, on Proctor's pledging himself to the general, that he would protect them if they surrendered, which otherwise would be out of his power, the general sent a flag to the pickets, by means of which, after passing and re-passing three times, a surrender was negotiated; at that time, thirty-five commissioned officers, and four hundred and fifty enlisted men remained, after fighting six hours against artillery, surrounded by a thousand savages. At this time the killed, wounded and missing, including those that had been outside the pickets, amounted to more than three hundred. The loss of the British could not have been less.

The consequences of this sad affair are too well known. Proctor violated every pledge he had given; the survivors were not permitted to bury the dead, and a large portion of themselves were murdered in cold blood, by the Indians, while a British Colonel, at the head of an ample force, stood by and did not strike one blow, or make any effort to save them. Mr. Blair tells the following anecdote of Ensign Butler, in this battle, which, as it does not enter into the general history of the country, had best be told in his own words:

"After the rout and massacre of the right wing, belonging to Wells's command, the whole force of the British and Indians was concentrated against the small body of troops under Major Madison, that maintained their ground within the picketed gardens. A double barn, commanding the plot of ground on which the Kentuckians stood, was approached on one side by the Indians, under the cover of an orchard and fence; the British, on the other side, being so posted as to command the space between it and the pickets. A party in the rear of the barn were discovered advancing to take posses-

sion of it. All saw the fatal consequences of the secure lodgment of the enemy at a place which would present every man within the pickets at close rifle-shot to the aim of their marksmen. Major Madison inquired if there was no one who would volunteer to run the gauntlet of the fire of the British and Indian lines, and put a torch to the combustibles within the barn, to save the remnant of the little army from the sacrifice. Butler, without a moment's delay, took some blazing sticks from a fire at hand, leaped the pickets, and, running at his utmost speed, thrust the fire into the straw within the barn. One who was an anxious spectator of the event we narrate, says, 'that although volley upon volley was fired at him, Butler, after making some steps on his way back, turned to see if the fire had taken, and, not being satisfied, returned to the barn, and set it in a blaze. As the conflagration grew, the enemy was seen retreating from the rear of the building, which they had entered at one end, as the flame ascended in the other. Soon after reaching the pickets in safety, amid the shouts of his friends, he was struck by a ball in his breast. Believing, from the pain he felt, that it had penetrated his chest, turning to Adjutant (now General) McCalla, one of his Lexington comrades, and pressing his hand to the spot, he said, 'I fear this shot is mortal, but while I am able to move, I will do my duty.' To the anxious inquiries of this friend, who met him soon afterward, he opened his vest, with a smile, and showed him that the ball had spent itself on the thick wadding of his coat, and on his breast bone. He suffered, however, for many weeks.'"

Among the few who survived the massacre was Butler, who was marched on foot to Fort Niagara, where he remained for a long time, amusing himself by literary pursuits and studies. Much of his time was given up to poetry; and his verses, though never intended to be published, from the various

extracts recently printed, since all that relates to him has become of interest, possess unusual merit, when we remember his age when they were written.

After a sojourn in Canada, he was permitted to return to the United States on parole, and almost immediately was promoted to a captaincy in the regiment to which he belonged. As this gave great dissatisfaction in the corps, all the lieutenants of which were overslaughed, he was almost immediately transferred to the 44th, a new regiment. When free from his parole, by virtue of an exchange, he at once took the field, with a company recruited at Nashville, Tennessee, and marched to join General Jackson alone, before any other portion of the regiment was fully organized. General Call, then a subaltern of Captain Butler, thus describes the participation of his superior officer in the campaign—a more vivid and graphic sketch can scarcely be found :

TALLAHASSEE, April 3, 1844.

“SIR—I avail myself of the earliest leisure I have had since the receipt of your letter of the 18th of February, to give you a reply.

“A difference of political sentiments will not induce me to withhold the narrative you have requested, of the military services of Colonel William O. Butler, during the late war with Great Britain, while attached to the army of the South. My intimate association with him, in camp, on the march, and in the field, has perhaps made me as well acquainted with his merits, as a gentleman and a soldier, as any other man living. And although we are now standing in opposite ranks, I cannot forget the days and nights we have stood side by side, facing the common enemy of our country, sharing the same fatigues, dangers, and privations, and participating in the same pleasures and enjoyments. The feel



ings and sympathies springing from such associations, in the days of our youth, can never be removed or impaired by a difference of opinion with regard to men or measures, when each may well believe the other equally sincere as himself, and where the most ardent desire of both is to sustain the honour, the happiness, and prosperity of our country.

“ Soon after my appointment in the army of the United States, as a lieutenant, in the fall of 1814, I was ordered to join the company of Captain Butler, of the 44th regiment of infantry, then at Nashville, Tennessee. When I arrived, and reported myself, I found the company under orders to join our regiment in the South. The march, mostly through an unsettled wilderness, was conducted by Captain Butler with his usual promptitude and energy, and by forced and rapid movements, we arrived at Fort Montgomery, the head-quarters of General Jackson, a short distance above the Florida line, just in time to follow our beloved general in his bold enterprise to drive the enemy from his strong position in a neutral territory. The van-guard of the army destined for the invasion of Louisiana, had made Pensacola its head-quarters, and the British navy in the Gulf of Mexico, had rendezvoused in that beautiful bay.

“ The penetrating sagacity of General Jackson discovered the advantage of the position assumed by the British forces, and with a decision and energy which never faltered, he resolved to find his enemy, even under the flag of a neutral power. This was done by a prompt and rapid march, surprising and cutting off all the advanced pickets, until we arrived within gun-shot of the fort at Pensacola. The army of General Jackson was then so inconsiderable as to render a reinforcement of a single company, commanded by such an officer as Captain Butler, an important acquisition. And although there were several companies of regular troops ordered to march

from Tennessee at the same time, Captain Butler's, by his extraordinary energy and promptitude, was the only one which arrived in time to join this expedition. His company formed a part of the centre column of attack at Pensacola. The street we entered was defended by a battery in front, which fired on us incessantly, while several strong block-houses, on our flanks, discharged upon us small arms and artillery. But a gallant and rapid charge soon carried the guns in front, and the town immediately surrendered.

"In this fight Captain Butler led on his company with his usual intrepidity. He had one officer, Lieutenant Flournoy, severely wounded, and several non-commissioned officers and privates killed and wounded.

"From Pensacola, after the object of the expedition was completed, by another prompt and rapid movement, we arrived at New Orleans a few weeks before the appearance of the enemy.

"On the 23d of December the signal-gun announced the approach of the enemy. The previous night they had surprised and captured one of our pickets; had ascended a bayou, disembarked, and had taken possession of the left bank of the Mississippi, within six miles of New Orleans. The energy of every officer was put in requisition, to concentrate our forces in time to meet the enemy. Captain Butler was one of the first to arrive at the general's quarters, and ask instructions; they were received and promptly executed. Our regiment, stationed on the opposite side, was transported across the river. All the available forces of our army, not much exceeding fifteen hundred men, were concentrated in the city; and while the sun went down the line of battle was formed; and every officer took the station assigned him in the fight. The infantry formed on the open square, in front of the cathedral, waiting in anxious expectation for the order to

move. During this momentary pause, while the enemy was expected to enter the city, a scene of deep and thrilling interest was presented. Every gallery, porch and window around the square were filled with the fair forms of beauty, in silent anxiety and alarm, waving their handkerchiefs to the gallant and devoted band which stood before them, prepared to die, or defend them from the rude intrusion of a foreign soldiery. It was a scene calculated to awaken emotions never to be forgotten. It appealed to the chivalry and patriotism of every officer and soldier—it inspired every heart, and nerved every arm for battle. From this impressive scene the army marched to meet the enemy, and about eight o'clock at night they were surprised in their encampment, immediately on the banks of the Mississippi. Undiscovered, our line was formed in silence within a short distance of the enemy; a rapid charge was made into their camp, and a desperate conflict ensued. After a determined resistance the enemy gave way, but disputing every inch of ground we gained. In advancing over ditches and fences in the night, rendered still more dark by the smoke of the battle, much confusion necessarily ensued, and many officers became separated from their commands. It more than once occurred during the fight that some of our officers, through mistake, entered the enemy's lines; and the British officers in like manner entered ours. The meritorious officer in command of our regiment, at the commencement of the battle, lost his position in the darkness and confusion, and was unable to regain it until the action was over. In this manner, for a short time, the regiment was without a commander, and its movements were regulated by the platoon officers, which increased the confusion and irregularity of the advance. In this critical situation, and in the heat of the battle, Captain Butler, as the senior officer present, assumed command of the regiment, and led it

on most gallantly to repeated and successful charges, until the fight ended in the complete rout of the enemy. We were still pressing on their rear, when an officer of the general's staff rode up and ordered the pursuit discontinued. Captain Butler urged its continuance, and expressed the confident belief of his ability to take many prisoners, if permitted to advance. But the order was promptly repeated, under the well-founded apprehension that our troops might come into collision with each other, an event which had unhappily occurred at a previous hour of the fight. No corps on that field was more bravely led to battle than the regiment commanded by Captain Butler, and no officer of any rank, save the commander-in-chief, was entitled to higher credit for the achievement of that glorious night.

"A short time before the battle of the 8th of January, Captain Butler was detailed to command the guard in front of the encampment. A house standing near the bridge, in advance of his position, had been taken possession of by the light troops of the enemy, from whence they annoyed our guard. Captain Butler determined to dislodge them and burn the house. He accordingly marched to the attack at the head of his command, but the enemy retired before him. Seeing them retreat, he halted his guard, and advanced himself, accompanied by two or three men only, for the purpose of burning the house. It was an old frame building, weather-boarded, without ceiling or plaster in the inside, with a single door opening to the British camp. On entering the house he found a soldier of the enemy concealed in one corner, whom he captured, and sent to the rear with his men, remaining alone in the house. While he was in the act of kindling a fire, a detachment of the enemy, unperceived, occupied the only door. The first impulse was to force, with his single arm, a passage through them, but he was instantly seized in a violent manner by two or

three stout fellows, who pushed him back against the wall with such force as to burst off the weatherboarding from the wall, and he fell through the opening thus made. In an instant he recovered himself, and under a heavy fire from the enemy, he retreated until supported by the guard, which he immediately led on to the attack, drove the British light troops from their strong position, and burnt the house in the presence of the two armies.

"I witnessed on that field many deeds of daring courage, but none of which more excited my admiration than this.

"Captain Butler was soon after in the battle of the 8th of January, where he sustained his previously high and well earned reputation for bravery and usefulness. But that battle, which, from its important results, has eclipsed those which preceded it, was but a slaughter of the enemy, with trivial loss on our part, and presenting few instances of individual distinction.

"Captain Butler received the brevet rank of major for his gallant services during that eventful campaign, and the reward of merit was never more worthily bestowed. Soon after the close of the war, he was appointed aid-de-camp to General Jackson, in which station he remained until he retired from the army. Since that period I have seldom had the pleasure of meeting with my valued friend and companion in arms, and I know but little of his career in civil life. But in camp, his elevated principles, his intelligence and generous feelings, won for him the respect and confidence of all who knew him; and where he is best known, I will venture to say, he is still most highly appreciated for every attribute which constitutes the gentleman and the soldier.

"I am, sir, very respectfully,

"R. K. CALL.

"Mr. William Tanner."

General Jackson was also about this time appealed to, and wrote an energetic letter in reference to his old aid-de-camp, which, while it displays the high estimate placed by the great commander on his younger associate, is too significant of the peculiarities of General Jackson, not to be a matter of interest. We take it from the sketch of Mr. Blair, who from family and political association, had ample means to prepare a far more elaborate life of General Butler than he has done.

“HERMITAGE, Feb. 20, 1844.

“MY DEAR SIR:—You ask me to give you my opinion of the military services of the then Captain, now Colonel, William O. Butler, of Kentucky, during the investment of New Orleans by the British forces in 1814 and 1815. I wish I had sufficient strength to speak fully of the merit of the services of Colonel Butler on that occasion; this strength I have not: Suffice it to say, that on all occasions he displayed that heroic chivalry, and calmness of judgment in the midst of danger, which distinguish the valuable officer in the hour of battle. In a conspicuous manner were those noble qualities displayed by him on the night of the 23d of December, 1814, and on the 8th of January, 1815, as well as at all times during the presence of the British army at New Orleans. In short, he was to be found at all points where duty called. I hazard nothing in saying that should our country again be engaged in war during the active age of Colonel Butler, he would be one of the very best selections that could be made to command our army, and lead the eagles of our country on to victory and renown. He has sufficient energy to assume all responsibility necessary to success, and for his country's good.

“ANDREW JACKSON.”



In 1816, General Jackson gave evidence how highly he esteemed Captain Butler, by appointing him *aid-de-camp*, with the rank of colonel, which position he retained in the peace-establishment.

He, however, though a soldier, had no preference for the military profession in a season of peace, and several years before General Jackson laid down his profession, resigned, and immediately resumed the study of that profession which had been interrupted by the declaration of war. He then married and established himself on the estate of his father, at the point where the Ohio and Kentucky rivers meet. Mr. Blair thus describes his home :

“The region around him was wild and romantic, sparsely settled, and by pastoral people. There are no populous towns. The high, rolling, and yet rich lands—the precipitous cliffs of the Kentucky, of Eagle, Tavern, and other tributaries, which pour into it near the mouth—make this section of the State still, to some extent, a wilderness of thickets—and the tangled pea-vine, the grape-vine, and nut-bearing trees, which rendered all Kentucky, until the intrusion of the whites, one great Indian park. The whole luxuriant domain was preserved by the Indians as a pasture for buffalo, deer, elk, and other animals—their enjoyment alike as a chase and a subsistence—by excluding every tribe from fixing a habitation in it. Its name consecrated it as the dark and bloody ground; and war pursued every foot that trod it. In the midst of this region, in April, 1791, William O. Butler was born, in Jessamine county, on the Kentucky river. His father had married, in Lexington, soon after his arrival in Kentucky, 1782, Miss Howkins, a sister-in-law of Colonel Todd, who commanded and perished in the battle of the Blue-Licks. Following the instincts of his family, which seemed ever to court danger, General Pierce Butler, as neighborhood encroached around him, removed, not long after the birth of his

son William, to the mouth of the Kentucky river. Through this section the Indian war-path into the heart of Kentucky passed. Until the peace of 1794, there was scarcely a day that some hostile savage did not prow! through the tangled forests, and the labyrinths of hills, streams and cliffs, which adapted this region to their lurking warfare. From it they emerged when they made their last formidable incursion, and pushed their foray to the environs of Frankfort, the capital of the State. General Pierce Butler had on one side of him the Ohio, on the farther shore of which the savage hordes still held the mastery, and on the other the romantic region through which they hunted and pressed their war enterprises. And here, amid the scenes of border warfare, his son William had that spirit, which has animated him through life, educated by the legends of the Indian-fighting hunters of Kentucky."

Amid these scenes Colonel Butler lived, and found that content and peace of mind, surpassing wealth, so necessary to one whose youth had been passed amid the alarums of a frontier war. The following verses, written at that time, show the nature of Col. Butler's life, and demonstrate how utterly the soldier's sword had been converted into the pruning hook :

#### THE BOAT HORN.

O, boatman ! wind that horn again,  
For never did the list'ning ear  
Upon its lambent bosom hear  
So wild, so soft, so sweet a strain—  
What though thy notes are sad, and few,  
By every simple boatman blown,  
Yet is each pulse to nature true,  
And melody in every tone.  
How oft in boyhood's joyous day,  
Unmindful of the lapsing hours,  
I've loitered on my homeward way  
By wild Ohio's brink of flowers,

While some lone boatman, from the deck,  
Poured his soft numbers to that tide,  
As if to charm from storm and wreck,  
The boat where all his fortunes ride!  
Delighted Nature drank the sound,  
Enchanted — Echo bore it round  
In whispers soft, and softer still,  
From hill to plain, and plain to hill,  
Till e'en the thoughtless, frolick boy,  
Elate with hope, and wild with joy,  
Who gambolled by the river's side,  
And sported with the fretting tide,  
Feels something new pervade his breast,  
Chain his light step, repress his jest,  
Bends o'er the flood his eager ear,  
To catch the sounds far off, yet dear —  
Drinks the sweet draught, but knows not why  
The tear of rapture fills his eye.  
And can he now, to manhood grown,  
Tell why those notes, simple and lone,  
As on the ravished ear they fall,  
Bind every sense in magic spell?  
There is a tide of feeling given  
To all on earth, its fountain Heaven.  
Beginning with the dewy flower,  
Just oped in Flora's vernal bower —  
Rising creation's orders through,  
With louder murmur, brighter hue —  
That *tide* is sympathy! its ebb and flow  
Give life its hues of joy and wo.  
Music, the master-spirit that can move  
Its waves to war, or lull them into love —  
Can cheer the sinking sailor mid the wave,  
And bid the soldier on! nor fear the grave —  
Inspire the fainting pilgrim on his road,  
And elevate his soul to claim his God.  
Then, boatman! wind that horn again!  
Though much of sorrow mark its strain,  
Yet are its notes to sorrow dear;  
What though they wake fond memory's tear!  
Tears are sad memory's sacred feast,  
And rapture oft her chosen guest.

In the west, no explanation of this poem is needed, but in the eastern portions of the country its reference may not be apparent. It has relation to the

wild boat-horn of wood, like that of the Swiss herdmen, used by the early navigators of the Ohio and other waters, previous to the commencement of the age of steam and turmoil. On this rude instrument they were accustomed to utter the most simple yet the most touching melodies, the tradition of which is now preserved through the whole west. Only, however, on the upper Missouri and its tributaries now can be heard those strains, in which were mingled the monotone music of the Indians and the gayer rhythm of France, which Ledyard and Moore thought worthy of translation and imitation.

This may not be an improper place to introduce a few selections from the early poems of Butler, generally written while he was an inmate of a British prison. It will be seen that the massacre of the river Raisin made a deep impression on him.

#### THE FIELD OF RAISIN.

The battle's o'er! the din is past,  
Night's mantle on the field is cast;  
The Indian yell is heard no more,  
And silence broods o'er Erie's shore.  
At this lone hour I go to tread  
The field where valour vainly bled—  
To raise the wounded warrior's crest,  
Or warm with tears his icy breast;  
To treasure up his last command,  
And bear it to his native land.  
It may one pulse of joy impart  
To a fond mother's bleeding heart;  
Or for a moment it may dry  
The tear-drop in the widow's eye.  
Vain hope, away! The widow ne'er  
Her warrior's dying wish shall hear.  
The passing zephyr bears no sigh,  
No wounded warrior meets the eye—  
Death is his sleep by Erie's wave,  
Of Raisin's snow we heap his grave!  
How many hopes lie murdered here—  
The mother's joy, the father's pride,  
The country's boast, the foeman's fear,  
In wilder'd havoc, side by side.

Lend me, thou silent queen of night,  
Lend me awhile thy waning light,  
That I may see each well-loved form,  
That sunk beneath the morning storm.

These verses are introductory to a larger poem, which is a series of eulogies on his murdered companions, belonging to the company of Captain Hart, himself a victim of Proctor's massacre, and a nephew of two distinguished statesmen of Kentucky, Henry Clay and James Brown.

And here I see that youthful band,  
'That loved to move at Hart's command;  
I saw them for the battle dressed,  
And still where danger thickest pressed,  
I marked their crimson plumage wave.  
How many filled this bloody grave!  
Their pillow and their winding-sheet  
The virgin snow—a shroud most meet!  
But wherefore do I linger here?  
Why drop the unavailing tear?  
Where'er I turn, some youthful form,  
Like floweret broken by the storm,  
Appeals to me in sad array,  
And bids me yet a moment stay,  
'Till I could fondly lay me down  
And sleep with him on the cold, cold ground.  
For thee, thou dread and solemn plain,  
I ne'er shall look on thee again;  
And Spring, with her effacing showers,  
Shall come, and Summer's mantling flowers;  
And each succeeding winter throw  
On thy red breast new robes of snow;  
Yet I will wear thee in my heart,  
All dark and gory as thou art.

Amid these scenes Colonel Butler remained for twenty years in seclusion, when he was by the unanimous nomination of the democracy of the district in which he resided, selected as a candidate for Congress. He was on two successive terms elected, and would doubtless have been a third time had he not positively refused to serve. He was rarely heard in

the sessions of Congress, but several noble addresses delivered there by him, prove that there was more than one orator, even in Kentucky.

In 1844, he was nominated as governor of Kentucky, and a great writer, who has made politics his study, has declared that there is but little doubt that he would have been elected, but for the fact that it was supposed throughout the State that the non-election of Ousley, the whig candidate, would prove most injurious to the chances of Mr. Clay's nomination by the great convention of the Whig party. Mr. Clay, it is well known, has for years been the popular idol of his State, and this circumstance, united with anxiety to give a chief magistrate to the Union, caused Colonel Butler's defeat. The nomination of the latter, however, certainly diminished the whig majority from twenty thousand votes to five thousand.

On the election of Mr. Polk, there was a general expectation that Colonel Butler would have been appointed secretary at war. To many it was a subject of regret, that the President did not select him, who from the mingled studies of his career in camp and at the bar, was so well calculated for this post. It is perhaps, however, best for the democratic party, that this was not the case, as it is scarcely probable, that in that event he would now have been selected as the candidate of the democratic party for the second office of the nation.



## CHAPTER II.

Appointment as Major-General—Service in Mexico—Monterey  
—Wounded—Return Home—Second in Command in Mexico  
—Return of General Scott, Commander-in-Chief.

AT the time that hostilities were commenced between the United States and Mexico, it was manifest that the regular army would be too small to occupy that warlike republic, in which the stormy events of the last thirty years have made almost every man a soldier. The government at once determined to appeal to the patriotism of the people, and to call out volunteers. As however it was known that this class of troops had a great aversion to serving under officers of the regular army, it was determined to appoint two generals of division and a number of brigadiers, from civil life, to command the new levies. The command of one of the divisions was conferred on General Butler, and met with universal approbation, being the only one of the appointments of general officers by Mr. Polk, against which very serious objections were not urged. General Butler was entitled to this commission; he had learned a soldier's duty in the presence of the enemy, and not in marching militia about the streets of a city, and therefore his promotion was both popular among the people, and welcome to the veterans of the army, with whom he was to serve.

As soon as his troops were raised he hurried to Mexico to support General Taylor in his invasion. Immediately on the advance of the army, General Butler was assigned to the command of the field division of volunteers, and seems to have acquired in

a peculiar manner the confidence of General Taylor. The circumstances attending the advance of the army are well known: it may not be however improper again to collate in this place, the series of official reports, which refer to the subject of this memoir.

General Taylor, in his brief report, dated September 22, 1846, announcing the capture of the city of Monterey, took occasion to refer to General Butler's conduct in the most particular manner, and in the full report, dated October 9th, spoke explicitly, regretting that his wound, received on the 21st ult., deprived him of his valuable services.

The following is General Butler's own report :

" Pursuant to the instructions of the major-general commanding, on the 21st instant, at about eight o'clock, A. M., I marched my division, (with the exception of one company from each infantry regiment, left to guard the camp,) and placed it in order of battle, under cover, immediately in rear of the mortar and howitzer battery, my left resting on the main road to Monterey. I had been in position but a short time, when I received the general's further orders to move as speedily as practicable, with three regiments, to the support of General Twiggs' division, then engaged in an attempt to carry the enemy's first battery on our left. To expedite this movement, I marched the three nearest regiments, commanded respectively by Colonels Davis, Campbell, and Mitchell, by the left flank, leaving Colonel Ormsby to sustain the batteries. Finding the rifle regiment in front, that of Colonel Campbell was ordered to take its place. The two last mentioned regiments constituting General Quitman's field brigade, he took the immediate command of them, and moved off with spirit and promptness in the direction indicated by the enemy's line of fire. Having seen General Quitman's brigade fairly in motion, I turned my attention to that of General Hamer, now

consisting of the Ohio regiment only. Pursuing the instructions of the major-general, I felt my way gradually, without any knowledge of the localities, into that part of the city bordering on the enemy's continuous line of batteries, assailed at every step by heavy fires in front and flank. After having traversed several squares, I met Major Mansfield, the engineer who had conducted the movement of General 'Twiggs' division on the first battery. He informed me of the failure of that attack, and advised the withdrawal of my command, as there could no longer be any object in advancing further, warning me at the same time that if I advanced I must meet a fire that would sweep all before it. Knowing the major-general commanding to be but a short distance in the rear, I galloped back and communicated this information, in consequence of which he gave the order to retrograde, and the movement was commenced accordingly. In a short time, however, it was known that General Quitman's brigade had not only stormed the battery in question, but had also carried a stone house of considerable strength connected with the first, and occupied by the enemy's infantry. The direction of General Hamer's brigade was at once changed, and the city re-entered by another route, which, after about a half hour's march under a destructive fire, brought it within, say one hundred yards, of the enemy's second fort, called El Diablo. A very slight reconnoissance sufficed to convince me that this was a position of no ordinary strength. Still, feeling its importance, after consulting with part of my staff as to its practicability, I had resolved to attempt carrying it by storm, and was in the act of directing the advance, when I received a wound which compelled me to halt. Colonel Mitchell was at the same time wounded at the head of his regiment, as was his adjutant. The men were falling fast under the converging fire of at least three distinct batteries, that continually

swept the intervening space through which it was necessary to pass. The loss of blood, too, from my wound, rendered it necessary that I should quit the field; and I had discovered at a second glance that the position was covered by a heavy fire of musketry from other works directly in its rear, that I had not seen in the first hasty examination. Under all these discouragements, I was most reluctantly compelled, on surrendering the command, to advise the withdrawal of the troops to a less exposed position. There is a possibility that the work might have been carried, but not without excessive loss, and if carried, I feel assured it would have been untenable.

“Accordingly, the division under General Hamer, on whom devolved the command, moved to a new position near the captured fort, and within sustaining distance of our field batteries on the left. The troops remained in and near this position, and under fire of the enemy’s batteries, until late in the day. For the details of the after proceedings of the day, I refer to General Hamer’s report.

“It is with no little pride and gratification that I bear testimony of the gallantry and good conduct of my command. Were proof wanting, a mournful one is to be found in the subjoined return of the casualties of the day. That part of my division properly in the field did not exceed eleven hundred, of which number full one-fifth were either killed or wounded. The fact that troops for the first time under fire should have suffered such loss without shrinking, in a continuous struggle for more than two hours, and mainly against a sheltered and inaccessible foe, finds but few parallels, and is of itself an eulogium to which I need not add. That there were some more prominent for skill and gallantry than others, even in a contest where all were brave, there can be no doubt; and I leave to those better qualified from their situations than myself the plea-

sing, though delicate task, of reporting upon their respective merits.

“Of my brigadiers, however, it is proper that I should myself speak. General Hamer was placed in a situation where nothing brilliant could be achieved, but which, at every moment, imperatively demanded prudence and calm unbending courage. It is but justice to him to say that I found him equal to the emergency.

“General Quitman had before him a field in which military genius and skill were called into requisition, and honours could be fairly won, and I but echo the general voice in saying that he nobly availed himself of the occasion.

“My special thanks are due to Major L. Thomas, assistant adjutant-general, General A. Sidney Johnston, of Texas, acting inspector-general, and Lieutenant G. W. Lay, aid-de-camp, who not only displayed great gallantry and coolness, but, by their professional skill, activity, and energy, rendered valuable service throughout the action. After my withdrawal they remained with the troops in the field.

“Surgeon R. P. Hunt, my volunteer aid-de-camp, also evinced great coolness, and conveyed promptly the orders confided to him.

“On my way back to camp, I found the Kentucky regiment, under the command of Colonel Ormsby, drawn up in fine order to repel a threatened charge from a large body of Mexican cavalry then in view. Though necessarily kept from the field of action proper, they occupied a most important position, and had two men wounded in defending it.

“I make no mention of the movement of Captain Webster’s howitzer battery, which was withdrawn from division and placed under charge of the chief of artillery.”



As a supplement to the above report, we may insert the following letter written to a relative in Louisville, which has become important as showing how fully General Butler approved of the granting of the peculiar terms to the Mexican garrison of Monterey, to which so much objection was made at the time, in the United States.

“Monterey is ours, but not without a heavy loss, and my division has probably sustained more than one half of it. I am myself wounded, but not badly. I was struck by a musket-ball below the knee; it entered in front, grazed the bones without injuring them, ranged round through the flesh, and came out on the opposite side.

“I became faint from loss of blood, and was compelled to leave the field, after having been in it under a heavy fire of grape and musketry for three hours.—I have been required by my surgeon to keep perfectly still, ever since the battle.

“I was in the act of leading the Ohio regiment to storm two of the most formidable batteries in the town, flanked by a stone wall, ten feet high, with a deep ditch in front, and covered by a strong musketry force in the rear, under complete shelter. There were two other batteries of grape-shot discharged, that swept the ground continually.

“Colonel Mitchell, who commanded the regiment of Ohio volunteers, was wounded about the same time that I was, and we then prudently abandoned the enterprise, as we became convinced that our loss would have been probably at least one hundred more men, had we persevered.

“I hope you will not think I acted rashly. I know that I am often rash where I involve myself alone; not so, however, when the fates of others are at stake.

“The condition in which we were placed fully justified, if it did not positively require us to make the attempt. The peculiarity of our situation I



cannot now explain, without going into greater detail than I am able to do.

“The battle commenced about nine o’clock, A. M., and continued without intermission, with various degrees of intensity, for eight hours.

“I had almost one thousand men in the battle, (the Louisville Legion having been left to guard our mortars), and of that number we lost in killed and wounded about two hundred and fifty.

“We took one battery and a house fitted up as a fortification, and assisted the regulars in taking a second. General Worth, with great gallantry and equal success, and with far less loss, carried on his operations on the opposite side of the town.

“The loss of the regulars who acted with us, was nearly proportional to ours as I learn, though I have not seen the official returns.

“Under all the circumstances, the terms of the capitulation are favourable to us. There are still several strong forts in the hands of the enemy, which we would have been compelled to take by regular approaches or with heavy losses. The plaza is of itself an enormous fortification of continuous houses, with thick stone walls, and all the streets leading into it strongly fortified and filled with guns.

“They admit that they will have at least eight thousand fighting men, whilst on our part we cannot muster five thousand for duty, and have only a few heavy guns, and those we took from them.

“Never, I believe, did troops, both volunteers and regulars, behave with more calmness and intrepidity, and I do not believe that for downright, straightforward, hard fighting, the battle of Monterey has ever been surpassed.”

We have yet another tribute, by an accomplished soldier, the present Lieutenant-Colonel Lorenzo Thomas, of the regular army, to show the estimate placed on Major-General Butler, and his deeds at

Monterey, by the professional soldiers of the service :

“ The army arrived at their camp in the vicinity of Monterey, about noon, September 19th. That afternoon the general endeavoured, by personal observation, to get information of the enemy’s position. He, like General Taylor, saw the importance of gaining the road to Saltillo, and fully favored the movement of General Worth’s division to turn their left, &c. Worth marched, Sunday, September 20th, for this purpose, thus leaving Twiggs’s and Butler’s divisions with General Taylor. General Butler was also in favor of throwing his division across the St. John’s river, and approaching the town from the east, which was at first determined upon. This was changed, as it would leave but one, and perhaps the smallest division, to guard the camp and attack in front. The 20th, the general also reconnoitered the enemy’s position. Early on the morning of the 21st, the force was ordered out, to create a diversion in favor of Worth, that he might gain his position ; and before our division came within long range of the enemy’s principal battery, the foot of Twiggs’s division had been ordered down to the northeast side of the town, to make an armed reconnoissance of the advanced battery, and to take it, if it could be done without great loss. The volunteer division was scarcely formed in rear of our howitzer and mortar battery, established the night previous, under cover of a rise of ground, before the infantry sent down to the northeast side of the town became closely and hotly engaged, the batteries of that division were sent down, *and we were then ordered to support the attack.* Leaving the Kentucky regiment to support the mortar and howitzer battery, the general rapidly put in march, by a flank movement, the other three regiments, moving for some one and a half or two miles under a heavy fire of round shot. As further ordered, the Ohio regiment was detached from

Quitman's brigade, and led by the general (at this time accompanied by General Taylor) into the town. Quitman carried his brigade directly on the battery first attacked, and gallantly carried it. Before this, however, as we entered the suburbs, the chief engineer came up and advised us to withdraw, as the object of the attack had failed, and if we moved on we must meet with great loss. The general was loath to fall back without consulting with General Taylor, which he did do—the general being but a short distance off. As we were withdrawing, news came that Quitman had carried the battery, and General Butler led the Ohio regiment back to the town at a different point. In the street, we became exposed to a line of batteries on the opposite side of a small stream, and also from a *tête de pont*, (bridge-head,) which enfiladed us. Our men fell rapidly as we moved up the street to get a position to charge the battery across the stream. Coming to a cross street, the general reconnoitred the position, and determining to charge from that point, sent me back a short distance to stop the firing, and advance the regiment with the bayonet. I had just left him, when he was struck in the leg, being on foot, and was obliged to leave the field.

“On entering the town, the general and his troops became at once hotly engaged at short musket range. He had to make his reconnoissances under heavy fire. This he did unflinchingly, and by exposing his person, on one occasion passing through a gate-way into a yard which was entirely open to the enemy. When wounded, at the intersection of two streets, he was exposed to a cross-fire from musketry and grape.

“In battle, the general's bearing was truly that of a soldier, and those under him felt the influence of his presence. He had the confidence of his men.”

After referring to various minor points, Major Thomas thus continues his account :

“When General Taylor went on his expedition to Victoria, in December, he placed General Butler in command of the troops on the Rio Grande, and on the stations thence to Saltillo, Worth’s small division of regulars being at the latter place. General Wool’s column had by this time reached Parras, one hundred or more miles west of Saltillo. General Butler had so far recovered from his wound as to walk a little, and ride, though with pain to his limb. One night, (about December 10,) an express came from General Worth, at Saltillo, stating that the Mexican forces were advancing in large numbers, from San Luis de Potosi, and that he expected, in two days, to be attacked. His division, all told, did not exceed 1500 men, if so many, and he asked for reinforcements. The general remained up during the balance of the night, and sent off couriers to the rear for reinforcements, and had the 11th Kentucky and 1st Ohio foot, then encamped three miles from the town, in the place by daylight: and these two regiments, and Webster’s battery, were encamped that night ten miles on the road to Saltillo. This promptness enabled the general to make his second day’s march of twenty-two miles in good season, and to hold the celebrated pass of Los Muertos, and check the enemy should he have attacked General Worth on that day, and obliged him to evacuate the town. Whilst on the next, and last day’s march, the general received notice that the reported advance of the enemy was untrue. Arriving at the camp-ground, the general suffered intense pain from his wound, and slept not during the night. This journey, over a rugged, mountainous road, and the exercise he took in examining the country, for twenty miles in advance of Saltillo, caused the great increase of pain now experienced.”

The general has been struck on the side of the calf of his leg, by a grape-shot, which inflicted a wound at the time not supposed to be severe. It

did not, however, heal, and occasioned so much pain that General Taylor, on his return to Monterey, from Victoria, gave him leave of absence. He immediately proceeded to the United States, and after a brief sojourn at his residence, was subsequently ordered to the army of General Scott. He succeeded the latter in the command of the American troops in the republic of Mexico, whence General Taylor had previously gone. While being cured of his wound, the battles of Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, and the valley of Mexico, had been fought, and subsequent events have caused it to be much regretted, that he was thus unable to participate in them. His rank and character would possibly have enabled him to prevent many exposures on the part of more than one of his junior generals.

Major-General Butler is tall and athletic, his whole bearing is graceful and military, and his appearance prepossessing. Strong good sense is marked in his countenance, and his career in the service proves this to be his distinguishing trait. Of all the generals in the army, regular, for the war, or of volunteers, who have been under fire since the contest began, he is perhaps the only one of whom no one has complained, whom no one has censured, and who has contended only with the enemies of his country. The nomination of this distinguished soldier will add new strength to the democratic party in the ensuing canvass, and has wrung even from his opponents the concession, that to him "there is no objection," but on strictly party grounds. This objection will doubly endear him to the people of the United States.

## APPENDIX.

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### THE WILMOT PROVISIO.

THE immense importance of the consequences of the extension of our constitution and laws over new territories obtained by conquest and otherwise, and the unavoidable conflict of the interests of the free and slave states, render this question most interesting. Although more than once it has been presumed in the foregoing pages, that the Wilmot proviso was understood, it may not be improper to recapitulate briefly its character and nature. Originating with Mr. Webster, it was seized upon by the opposition, and announced to the world through the instrumentality of Mr. David Wilmot, a member of congress from an obscure district of Pennsylvania, with the manifest intention of alienating the southern states from the support of the war, by providing that slavery should be prohibited in any new territory acquired, or likely to be acquired, during the existing Mexican war. Introduced as an additional clause of an important bill, it became almost the defining line of the two parties, and upon it much of the interest of the approaching congressional contest must hinge. In the resolutions of the democratic party, previously printed, and in the ensuing letter will be found the embodiment of the cardinal points of the creed of the great democratic party, and the honest convictions of the two men, Generals Cass and Butler, nominated as candidates for the suffrages of the people.



WASHINGTON, December 24, 1847.

DEAR SIR:—I have received your letter, and shall answer it, as frankly as it is written.

You ask me whether I am in favour of the acquisition of Mexican territory, and what are my sentiments with regard to the Wilmot Proviso?

I have so often and so explicitly stated my views of the first question, in the Senate, that it seems almost unnecessary to repeat them here. As you request it, however, I shall briefly give them.

I think, then, that no peace should be granted to Mexico, till a reasonable indemnity is obtained for the injuries which she has done us. The territorial extent of this indemnity is, in the first instance, a subject of Executive consideration. There the Constitution has placed it, and there I am willing to leave it; not only because I have full confidence in its judicious exercise, but because, in the ever-varying circumstances of a war, it would be indiscreet, by a public declaration, to commit the country to any line of indemnity, which might otherwise be enlarged, as the obstinate injustice of the enemy prolongs the contest, with its loss of blood and treasure.

It appears to me that the kind of metaphysical magnanimity, which would reject all indemnity at the close of a bloody and expensive war, brought on by a direct attack upon our troops by the enemy, and preceded by a succession of unjust acts for a series of years, is as unworthy of the age in which we live, as it is revolting to the common sense and practice of mankind. It would conduce but little to our future security, or indeed, to our present reputation, to declare that we repudiate all expectation of compensation from the Mexican government, and are fighting, not for any practical result, but for some vague, perhaps philanthropic object, which escapes my penetration, and must be defined by those

who assume this new principle of national intercommunication. All wars are to be deprecated, as well by the statesman, as by the philanthropist. They are great evils; but there are greater evils than these, and submission to injustice is among them. The nation which should refuse to defend its rights and its honour, when assailed, would soon have neither to defend; and when driven to war, it is not by professions of disinterestedness and declarations of magnanimity, that its rational objects can be best obtained, or other nations taught a lesson of forbearance—the strongest security for permanent peace. We are at war with Mexico, and its vigorous prosecution is the surest means of its speedy termination, and ample indemnity the surest guarantee against the recurrence of such injustice as provoked it.

The Wilmot Proviso has been before the country some time. It has been repeatedly discussed in Congress, and by the public press. I am strongly impressed with the opinion, that a great change has been going on in the public mind upon this subject—in my own as well as others; and that doubts are resolving themselves into convictions, that the principle it involves should be kept out of the National Legislature, and left to the people of the Confederacy in their respective local governments.

The whole subject is a comprehensive one, and fruitful of important consequences. It would be ill-timed to discuss it here. I shall not assume that responsible task, but shall confine myself to such general views, as are necessary to the fair exhibition of my opinions.

We may well regret the existence of slavery in the southern states, and wish they had been saved from its introduction. But there it is, and not by the act of the present generation; and we must deal with it as a great practical question, involving the most momentous consequences. We have neither

the right nor the power to touch it where it exists; and if we had both, their exercise, by any means heretofore suggested, might lead to results which no wise man would willingly encounter, and which no good man could contemplate without anxiety.

The theory of our government presupposes that its various members have reserved to themselves the regulation of all subjects relating to what may be termed their internal police. They are sovereign within their boundaries, except in those cases where they have surrendered to the general government a portion of their rights, in order to give effect to the objects of the Union, whether these concern foreign nations or the several states themselves. Local institutions, if I may so speak, whether they have reference to slavery, or to any other relations, domestic or public, are left to local authority, either original or derivative. Congress has no right to say, that there shall be slavery in New York, or that there shall be no slavery in Georgia; nor is there any other human power, but the people of those states, respectively, which can change the relations existing therein; and they can say, if they will, we will have slavery in the former, and we will abolish it in the latter.

In various respects the territories differ from the states. Some of their rights are inchoate, and they do not possess the peculiar attributes of sovereignty. Their relation to the general government is very imperfectly defined by the Constitution; and it will be found, upon examination, that in that instrument the only grant of power concerning them is conveyed in the phrase, "Congress shall have the power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations, respecting the territory and other property belonging to the United States." Certainly this phraseology is very loose, if it were designed to include in the grant the whole power of legislation over persons as well as things. The expression, the

‘territory and other property,’ fairly construed, relates to the public lands as such, to arsenals, dock yards, forts, ships, and all the various kinds of property, which the United States may and must possess.

But surely the simple authority to *dispose of and regulate* these, does not extend to the unlimited power of legislation; to the passage of all *laws*, in the most general acceptation of the word; which, by the by, is carefully excluded from the sentence. And, indeed, if this were so, it would render unnecessary another provision of the Constitution, which grants to Congress the power to legislate, with the consent of the states, respectively, over all places purchased for the “erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards,” &c. These being the “*property*” of the United States, if the power to make “needful rules and regulations concerning” them includes the general power of legislation, then the grant of authority to regulate “the territory and other property of the United States” is unlimited, wherever subjects are found for its operation, and its exercise needed no auxiliary provision. If, on the other hand, it does not include such power of legislation over the “other property” of the United States, then it does not include it over their “*territory*,” for the same terms which grant the one, grant the other. “*Territory*” is here classed with property, and treated as such; and the object was evidently to enable the general government, as a property-holder—which, from necessity, it must be—to manage, preserve, and “*dispose of*” such property as it might possess, and which authority is essential almost to its being. But the lives and persons of our citizens, with the vast variety of objects connected with them, cannot be controlled by an authority, which is merely called into existence for the purpose of making *rules and regulations for the disposition and management of property*.

Such, it appears to me, would be the construction put upon this provision of the Constitution, were this question now first presented for consideration, and not controlled by imperious circumstances. The original ordinance of the Congress of the Confederation, passed in 1787, and which was the only act upon this subject in force at the adoption of the Constitution, provided a complete frame of government for the country north of the Ohio, while in a territorial condition, and for its eventual admission in separate states into the Union. And the persuasion, that this ordinance contained within itself all the necessary means of execution, probably prevented any direct reference to the subject in the Constitution, further than vesting in Congress the right to admit the states formed under it into the Union. However, circumstances arose, which required legislation, as well over the territory north of the Ohio, as over other territory, both within and without the original Union, ceded to the general government; and, at various times, a more enlarged power has been exercised over the *territories*—meaning thereby the different Territorial Governments—than is conveyed by the limited grant referred to. How far an existing necessity may have operated in producing this legislation, and thus extending, by rather a violent implication, powers not directly given, I know not. But certain it is, that the principle of interference should not be carried beyond the necessary implication, which produces it. It should be limited to the creation of proper governments for new countries, acquired or settled, and to the necessary provision for their eventual admission into the Union; leaving, in the meantime, to the people inhabiting them, to regulate their internal concerns in their own way. They are just as capable of doing so, as the people of the states; and they can do so, at any rate, as soon as their political independence is recognized by admission

into the Union. During this temporary condition, it is hardly expedient to call into exercise a doubtful and invidious authority, which questions the intelligence of a respectable portion of our citizens, and whose limitation, whatever it may be, will be rapidly approaching its termination—on authority which would give to Congress despotic power, uncontrolled by the Constitution, over most important sections of our common country. For, if the relation of master and servant may be regulated or annihilated by its legislation, so may the relation of husband and wife, of parent and child, and of any other condition which our institutions and the habits of our society recognize. What would be thought if Congress should undertake to prescribe the terms of marriage in New York, or to regulate the authority of parents over their children in Pennsylvania! And yet it would be as vain to seek one justifying the interference of the National Legislature in the cases referred to in the original states of the Union. I speak here of the inherent power of Congress, and do not touch the question of such contracts as may be formed with new states when admitted into the Confederacy.

Of all the questions that can agitate us, those which are merely sectional in their character are the most dangerous, and the most to be deprecated. The warning voice of him who, from his character, and services, and virtue, had the best right to warn us, proclaimed to his countrymen, in his farewell address—that monument of wisdom for him, as I hope it will be of safety for them—how much we had to apprehend from measures peculiarly affecting geographical portions of our country. The grave circumstances in which we are now placed make these words, words of safety; for I am satisfied, from all I have seen and heard here, that a successful attempt to ingraft the principles of the Wilmot Proviso upon the legislation of this government,



and to apply them to new territory, should new territory be acquired, would seriously affect our tranquillity. I do not suffer myself to foresee or to foretell the consequences that would ensue; for I trust and believe there is good sense and good feeling enough in the country to avoid them, by avoiding all occasions which might lead to them.

Briefly, then, I am opposed to the exercise of any jurisdiction by Congress over this matter; and I am in favour of leaving to the people of any territory, which may be hereafter acquired, the right to regulate it for themselves, under the general principles of the Constitution. Because—

1. I do not see in the Constitution any grant of the requisite power to Congress; and I am not disposed to extend a doubtful precedent beyond its necessity—the establishment of Territorial Governments when needed—leaving to the inhabitants all the rights compatible with the relations they bear to the Confederation.

2. Because I believe this measure, if adopted, would weaken, if not impair, the union of the states; and would sow the seeds of future discord, which would grow up and ripen into an abundant harvest of calamity.

3. Because I believe a general conviction, that such a proposition would succeed, would lead to an immediate withholding of the supplies, and thus to a dishonourable termination of the war. I think no dispassionate observer at the seat of government can doubt this result.

4. If, however, in this I am under a misapprehension, I am under none in the practical operation of this restriction, if adopted by Congress, upon a treaty of peace making any acquisition of Mexican territory. Such a treaty would be rejected just as certainly as presented to the Senate. More than one-third of that body would vote against it, viewing such a principle as an exclusion of the citizens of

the slaveholding states from a participation in the benefits acquired by the treasure and exertions of all, and which should be common to all. I am repeating — neither advancing nor defending these views. That branch of the subject does not lie in my way, and I shall not turn aside to seek it.

In this aspect of the matter, the people of the United States must choose between this restriction and the extension of their territorial limits. They cannot have both; and which they will surrender must depend upon their representatives first, and then, if these fail them, upon themselves.

5. But, after all, it seems to be generally conceded, that this restriction, if carried into effect, could not operate upon any state to be formed from newly acquired territory. The well-known attributes of sovereignty, recognized by us as belonging to the state governments, would sweep before them any such barrier, and would leave the people to express and exert their will at pleasure. Is the object, then, of temporary exclusion for so short a period as the duration of the Territorial Governments, worth the price at which it would be purchased? — worth the discord it would engender, the trial to which it would expose our Union, and the evils that would be the certain consequence, let that trial result as it might? As to the course, which has been intimated rather than proposed, of ingrafting such a restriction upon any treaty of acquisition, I persuade myself it would find but little favour in any portion of this country. Such an arrangement would render Mexico a party, having a right to interfere in our internal institutions, in questions left by the constitution to the state governments, and would inflict a serious blow upon our fundamental principles. Few, indeed, I trust, there are among us who would thus grant to a foreign power the right to inquire into the constitution and conduct of the sovereign states of this Union; and if there are any, I am not among

them, and never shall be. To the people of this country, under God, now and hereafter, are its destinies committed; and we want no foreign power to interrogate us, treaty in hand, and to say, Why have you done this, or why have you left that undone? Our own dignity and the principles of national independence unite to repel such a proposition.

But there is another important consideration, which ought not to be lost sight of in the investigation of this subject. The question that presents itself is not a question of the increase, but of the diffusion of slavery. Whether its sphere be stationary or progressive, its amount will be the same. The rejection of this restriction will not add one to the class of servitude, nor will its adoption give freedom to a single being who is now placed therein. The same numbers will be spread over greater territory, and so far as compression, with less abundance of the necessaries of life, is an evil, so far will that evil be mitigated by transporting slaves to a new country, and giving them a larger space to occupy.

I say this in the event of the extension of slavery over any new acquisition. But can it go there? This may well be doubted. All the descriptions which reach us of the condition of the Californias and of New Mexico, to the acquisition of which our efforts seem at present directed, unite in representing those countries as agricultural regions, similar in their products to our middle states, and generally unfit for the production of the great staples, which can alone render slave labour valuable. If we are not grossly deceived—and it is difficult to conceive how we can be—the inhabitants of those regions, whether they depend upon their ploughs or their herds, cannot be slaveholders. Involuntary labour, requiring the investment of large capital, can only be profitable when employed in the production of a

few favoured articles confined by nature to special districts, and paying larger returns than the usual agricultural products spread over more considerable portions of the earth.

In the able letter of Mr. Buchanan upon this subject, not long since given to the public, he presents similar considerations with great force. "Neither," says the distinguished writer, "the soil, the climate, nor the productions of California south of  $36^{\circ} 30'$ , nor indeed of any portion of it, north or south, is adapted to slave labour; and besides, every facility would be there afforded for the slave to escape from his master. Such property would be entirely insecure in any part of California. It is morally impossible, therefore, that a majority of the emigrants to that portion of the territory south of  $36^{\circ} 30'$ , which will be chiefly composed of our citizens, will ever reestablish slavery within its limits."

"In regard to New Mexico, east of the Rio Grande, the question has already been settled by the admission of Texas into the Union.

"Should we acquire territory beyond the Rio Grande and east of the Rocky Mountains, it is still more impossible that a majority of the people would consent to *reestablish* slavery. They are themselves a coloured population, and among them the negro does not belong socially to a degraded race."

With this last remark Mr. Walker fully coincides in his letter written in 1844, upon the annexation of Texas, and which everywhere produced so favourable an impression upon the public mind, as to have conduced very materially to the accomplishment of that great measure. "Beyond the Del Norte," says Mr. Walker, "slavery will not pass; not only because it is forbidden by law, but because the coloured race there preponderates in the ratio of ten to one over the whites; and holding, as they do, the government and most of the offices in their

possession, they will not permit the enslavement of any portion of the coloured race, which makes and executes the laws of the country."

The question, it will be therefore seen on examination, does not regard the exclusion of slavery from a region where it now exists, but a prohibition against its introduction where it does not exist, and where, from the feelings of the inhabitants and the laws of nature, "it is morally impossible," as Mr. Buchanan says, that it can ever reëstablish itself.

It augurs well for the permanence of our confederation, that during more than half a century, which has elapsed since the establishment of this government, many serious questions, and some of the highest importance, have agitated the public mind, and more than once threatened the gravest consequences, but that they have all in succession passed away, leaving our institutions unscathed, and our country advancing in numbers, power, and wealth, and in all the other elements of national prosperity, with a rapidity unknown in ancient or in modern days. In times of political excitement, when difficult and delicate questions present themselves for solution, there is one ark of safety for us,—and that is, an honest appeal to the fundamental principles of our Union, and a stern determination to abide their dictates. This course of proceeding has carried us in safety through many a trouble, and I trust will carry us safely through many more, should many more be destined to assail us. The Wilmot Proviso seeks to take from its legitimate tribunal a question of domestic policy, having no relation to the Union, as such, and to transfer it to another, created by the people for a special purpose, and foreign to the subject-matter involved in this issue. By going back to our true principles, we go back to the road of peace and safety. Leave to the people, who will be affected by this question, to adjust it upon their own

responsibility, and in their own manner, and we shall render another tribute to the original principles of our government, and furnish another guarantee for its permanence and prosperity.

I am, dear sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

LEWIS CASS.

A. O. P. NICHOLSON, Esq., *Nashville, Tennessee.*

THE END.





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